

THE LIFE AND WORK OF MALIK AMBAR

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Dedicated
to
the revered memory of
my late father, G.D. Tamaskar
humbly and respectfully
whose constant inspiration has led
me to the field of
research work
in
History.

PREFACE

The present monograph on the Life and Work of Malik Ambar was intended to be written several years ago. Unfortunately, unforeseen domestic and financial difficulties prevented its completion earlier than this. However, now, the author is filled with a keen sense of gratification to submit this humble work to interested learned scholars for their esteemed assessment of its value and offering their constructive criticism for its improvement in time to come.

The monograph, in the main, is based on an extensive use of the contemporary and later Marāthī documents and also, the contemporary Portuguese Records, brought to light recently, supplemented by Persian, English, Dutch, French and Italian source-materials. A glance at the contents of this comprehensive work can serve to reveal that the author has endeavoured to make it as exhaustive as the source-materials and the scope of the monograph could allow.

The author is sincerely thankful to the editors of the journals in which the following papers bearing on the life and administration of Malik Ambar have appeared, prior to the publication of this monograph:

1. Malik Ambar and the Portuguese. (Journal of the Bihār Research Society, XXXIII, Pts. 1 and 2).
2. Malik Ambar and the English. (Annual Bulletin of the Nāgpur University Historical Society, Nos. 8, 9 and 10).
3. Malik Ambar's Civil Administration. (The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies, VIII-1).
4. Malik Ambar's Financial Administration. (The Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society, XIV-2 and 3, and XVI-2).
5. Malik Ambar's Defence Arrangements. (Calcutta Review, Vol. 135, No. 1).

6. An Estimate of Malik Ambar. (The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies, VIII-4).

7. The Nizāms'āhī Line of Rulers Reconstructed. (The Bulletin of the Nagpur University Historical Society, No. 7).

Except for no. 4 of the above list, all other papers have been recast to incorporate additional materials recently discovered by the author.

For all deficiencies, shortcoming and defects, the author is solely responsible, though he has received unreserved and charitable help from several learned scholars, in various ways.

The author records here his spontaneous and heartfelt gratitude to the late G.S. Sardesai for his valuable and constructive suggestions, to Prof. P.S. Pissurlencar for furnishing the Portuguese Records, for their translation to Shri. Fausto P. Gomes, Librarian, Heras Institute of Indian History and Culture, for its thorough revision to Rev. Anthony D'Costa, Director of the Institute, to the Nagpur University authorities for the grant sanctioned in the summer of 1968 for the translation of the Portuguese Records, and to Dr. S. Mookerjee, Principal, Vidarbha Mahāvīdyālaya, Amravati for his liberal permission to utilize the cartographic facilities of the Geography Department. Without their kind, prompt and ungrudging help, the monograph would not have seen the light of the day. The author also takes delight in expressing his gratitude to Shri Setu Madhava Rao Pagadi for his kind, lively and keen encouragement in this work. Thanks are also due to Prof. K. L. Mahaley, Department of History, Vidarbha Mahavidyalaya, Amravati for his helpful suggestions and some materials of the last chapter. The author feels indebted deeply to Shri. Y.M. Muley, Librarian, Nagpur University Library for furnishing a few rare volumes from the library for the final verification of relevant references. Prof. N.K. Deshmukh of Shivaji Training College, Amravati, deserves grateful thanks for going through the typescript of the work. Shri V.R. Garde, Artist of the Geography Department, Vidarbha Mahāvīdyālaya, has been kind enough to draft the maps of this monograph. Similarly, my brother-in-law, Shri. P.S. Awate, practising cartographer at Bombay, has been responsible for securing the photographic reprints of the original maps. Lastly, the author cannot fail to mention that his wife

has willingly taken over to herself all the responsibilities of the household to permit him to devote and concentrate all his time and energy to the completion of this research work with the least possible distraction.

The author desires to express his grateful thanks to M/S Idarah-i-Adabiyat-i Delli, publishers of the work and their printers for their active co-operation.

Paonaskar's Bungalow,
Amravati Camp,
Amravati.

B.G. Tamaskar.

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

A. Works

1. *A.F.S.* Aitihāsik Fāraṣi Sāhitya. (B.I.S.M.)
2. *A.G.M.* Akbar the Great Moghul by V.A. Smith.
3. *A.J.* An account of India by De Laet.
4. *A.N.* The Akbar-nāmā.
5. *A.P.* Aitihāsik Prastāvanā.
6. *A.Pu.* The Anu-Purāṇa S'iva-Bhārāt (S.B.) by Kavīndra Parmānanda.
7. *A.S.L.* Aitihāsika Sankirṇa Lekha. (B.I.S.M.)
8. *B.F.* Brigg's Firishtāh.
9. *B.M.* Burhān-i-Maāsir. (I.A., 1923.)
10. *B.M.I.* A Bibliography of Mughal India by S.R. Sharmā.
11. *B.S.* Busātīnusalātīn.
12. *B.S.N.* Bādshāh Nāmā.
13. *C.B.* Chitṛis Bakhar.
14. *C.H.I.* Cambridge History of India.
15. *C.H.I.S.* Cambridge Shorter History of India.
16. *E.A.* The Emperor Akbar by Count Von Noer.
17. *E.D.* Elliot and Dowson: History of India as told by her own Historians.
18. *E.F.I.* English Factories in India by William Foster.
19. *E.I.M.* Epigraphiā Indo-Moslemicā.
20. *E.I.R.* Letters received by the East India from their servants in the East.
21. *E.R.S.* English Records on Shivājī.
22. *F.A.* Futūhāt-i-Ādilshāhī.
23. *F.P.V.K.* Festschrift Prof. P.V. Kane edited by S.M. Katre and P.K. Gode.
24. *F.R.* Factory Records.

25. *H.K.* Haft Kursī.
26. *H.M.I.* History of Mughal India by Pelasaert.
27. *H.L.D.* Historic Landmarks of the Deccan by Col. T.W. Haig.
28. *H.M.* A History of the Mahrāttās by J.G. Grant Duff.
29. *H.M.P.* History of the Marāthā People by C.A. Kincaid and D.B. Parāsnis.
30. *H.S.* The House of Shivājī by J.N. Sarkar.
31. *I.M.M.* Joannes De Laet: Imperio Magni Mogolis, Sive India Vera, Commentarius exvariis auctoritus conquestus. Translated by J.S. Hoyland and annotated by S.N. Banerjee.
32. *I.N.* The Iqbāl-nāmā.
33. *J.C.* The Jedhe Chronology.
34. *J.K.* The Jedhe Kareenā.
35. *J.S.* The Jedhe S'akāvalī.
- 35a. *M.A.* Malik Ambar (Jogindranath Chowdhari)
36. *M.A.D.R.* Malik Ambar from Dutch Records.
37. *M.D.R.* Marāthī Daftar Rumāl Pahilā (First).
- 37a. *M.I.* Moghal India (D.N. Marshall.)
38. *M.I.J.* Maāsiri-Jahāngīrī by Kāmgār Khān.
39. *M.I.R.* The Maāsir-i-Rahīmī.
40. *M.R.* Marāthī Riyāsāt (Shāhji) by G.S. Serdesāi.
41. *Ma.Re.* Marine Records.
42. *M.I.S.* Marāthiyānchā Itihāsachī Sādhane, by V.K. Rājwāde.
43. *M.L.* Muntakhab-ul-Lubāb.
44. *M.R.S.M.* Mālojī Rāje Āni S'āhajī Mahārāj.
45. *M.S.G.G.I.* Mudhol Sansthānacha Ghorpade Ghara-nyāchā Itihās.
46. *M.U.* Maāsir-ul-Umarā.
47. *N.D.* Nuskha-i-Dilkusha.
48. *N.M.H.* New Maratha History by G.S. Serdesāi.
49. *O.C.* Original Correspondence.
50. *P.D.V.* Petro Della Valle.
51. *P.D.V.* Pietro Della Valle. (Italian Traveller).
52. *P.N.L.* Pādshāhnāma of Lāhurī.
53. *P.D.* Pes'wā Daftar edited by G.S. Serdesāi.

54. 91-Q.B. Tha 91-Qalamī Bakhar.
 55. P.S.S. Patra-Sār-Sangrah.
 56. R.M.V.C. Radhā-Mādhāv-Vilās-Champoo.
 57. S.C.S. S'iva-Charitra-Sāhitya.
 58. S.C.P. S'iva-Charitra Pradeep.
 59. S.C.V. S'iva-Charitra-Vratta.
 60. S.C.V.S. S'iva-Charitra-Vratta-Sangrah.
 61. S.G. Sh'ivāji, the Great by Bālkrishna.
 62. S.H.T. Shivāji and His Times by J.N. Sarkār.
 63. S.L. Sanads and Letters by P.V. Mawjee and D.B. Parāsnīs.
 64. S.N. S'ivāji Nibandhāvalī.
 65. S.P.C. Chitṇis: Sapt-Prakaranātma Charitra.
 66. S.S. Shivāji Souvenir edited by G.S. Seardesāi.
 67. T.A. Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī.
 68. T.A.N. Taknilā-i-Akbarnāmā by Inayatulla.
 69. T.A.A.S. The Tārikh-i-Alī Ādilshāh Sāni.
 70. T.I. T. Sambamurthi Row: The Marāthi Historical Inscription of Sri. Brihadscswara-seami Temple at Tanjore,
 71. T.J. Tuzuk-i-Jahangīrī.
 72. T.U.M. The Tazkirāt-ul-Mulūk by Rafiuddin Shirāzī (Major J.S. King's Translation.)
 73. W.A.B. Wikaya or Hālat-i-Āsad Beg.
 74. W.I.J. Wākiat-i-Jahāngīrī.

(B). *Journals and Periodicals.*

1. B.N.U.H.S. Bulletin of Nāgpur University Historical Society.
2. D.C.D. Deccan College Dissertation Series.
3. I.A. Indian Antiquary.
4. I.H.C. Indian History Congress, Proceedings.
5. I.H.Q. Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta.
6. I.H.R.C. The Indian Historical Records Commission
7. J.B.O.R.S. The Journal of Bihār and Orissā Research Society.
8. J.I.H. The Journal of Indian History.
9. J.B.H.S. Journal of the Bombay Historical Society.

10. *Q.B.I.S.M* The Quarterly of the Bhārat Itihās Sanshodhak Mandal, Poonā.
11. *Q.R.H.S.* The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies, Calcutta.
12. *S.V.* Sammelan Vratta. (Bhārat Itihās Aanshodhak Mandal, Poonā).

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PART I
Introduction
and
Historical Events

The Sources of Malik Ambar's Life and Work

What strikes most a researcher working on the life and times of Malik Ambar is the marked paucity of historical materials directly bearing on him. There is no single contemporary connected biographical account, either official or non-official, which gives a comprehensive, consistent and complete account of the life of Malik Ambar. The crowded career of this eminent person has been dealt with in a number of contemporary chronicles and works of historical value in a fragmentary manner. It is apparent that, as such, the story of his life and times must, of necessity, be weaved and reconstructed together with assiduous and cautious care from various sources, published or unpublished, to build up a comprehensive and consistent account, based on the writings of those who were not favourably inclined towards him, as they belonged to his enemy camp. In spite of all this stupendous task, still some phases of his brilliant career will remain untouched for want of the relevant materials to highlight them. All the sources of historical materials of the present monograph fall under the following broad categories:

- (a) Persian, (b) Sanskrit, (c) Mārathi, (d) Foreign, (e) The Contemporary European Travellers, (f) Modern Works and (g) Miscellaneous

All these sources merit a close, systematic and critical analysis to evaluate their historical value for presenting possibly correct interpretations of events of Ambar's story. An attempt has been made in the sequel to assess the historical value of each of the sources bearing on Malik Ambar.

(a) *Persian sources.*

1. 'ALI b. AZĪZ al-LĀH TABĀTABĀ: The *Burhān-i-Maāsir* (also known as the *Burhān-i-Maāthir*):

The work incorporates a part of the history of the Bahamanīs and Nizāms'āhīs of Gulbargā, Bīdar and Ahmadnagar, completed in or shortly after 1004 A.H./1596 A.D. The Decan campaigns of the Moghuls are described in some details in this. The work was commenced probably in 1000 A.H./1592 A.D. at the command of the reigning Sultān Burhān Nizāms'āh I (999-1003 A.H./1591-95 A.D.). The Persian text has been published at Hyderabad in 1937 by the Persian Text Society. Its English translation by Sir. W. Haig is available in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. xlix-līi which has been reprinted from it. Similarly, J.S. King's translation is also reprinted for the benefit of the scholars interested in it.

However, it may be pointed out that the work is not very much useful for the life of Malik Ambar except for the side-light on the dawn of his political career and activities.

2. RAFĪ-'al-DĪN IBRĀHĪM SHĪRĀZĪ: The *Tazkīrāt-ul-Mulūk* (1608-11 A.D.)²

It was written in the reign of Ihrāhim Ādils'āh II of Bijāpur. The work is still in manuscript, a copy of which is said to be stocked in the Cāmā Library at Bombay. The present author could not succeed in tracing it out.

It presents a good and lucid account of Malik Ambar's early life, advent and rise. Ambar's matrimonial connection with the king, his relation with Rājū and early alliance with Bijāpur have also been depicted in details with precision. The economic condition of the Ahmadnagar state to which it makes casual references is of value to us.

Only a portion of this work relating to the Bahamanī Empire has been translated into English by Major J.S King in his "History of Bahamanī Kingdom."

3. FIRISHTĀH MUHAMMAD QĀSIM HINDŪ-SHĀH ASTARĀBĀDĪ:

The *Tārīkh-e-Firīshṭāh* also called *Gulshan-e-Ibrāhīmī*.

This work embodies a general history of India from the earliest times to 1015 A.H./1607 A.D. According to Rafi-uddin Shirāzī, Firishtāh wrote his accounts of contemporary history on the basis of hearsay. Firishtāh focuses his greater attention on the Nizāms'āhī dynasty in his work. It has been accepted by most of the modern historians as one of the most authentic accounts of the Deccan history during the later part of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century. To the English-reading public Firishtāh's work in John Briggs' translation entitled, '*History of the rise of the Mohomedan Power in India till the year A.D. 1612*' and also another English version by Scott are, now, available. The last-named translation was done in the days of Warren Hastings which is based on an incomplete and imperfect *ms.* As such, Briggs can be consulted with profit and advantage for its greater reliability than the English rendering by Jonathan Scott.

The work comprises of an introduction, twelve books and conclusion. For our purpose the Book II, dealing with the history of the kings of Delhi from Muhammad Ghorī to the death of Akbar 1014 A.H./1605 A.D. and Book III dealing with the history of the kings of the Deccan in six chapters are of use.³

4. FUZŪNĪ ASTRĀBĀDĪ: *Futūhāt-e-Ādilshāhī or Tārīkh-e-Fuzūnī*:

This is a history of the Ādils'āhs of Bijāpur from the beginning of the dynasty to 1054 A.H./1644-45 A.D. Fuzūnī Astrābādī came to Bijāpur from Mecca and was admitted into the court of Sultān Muhammad Ādils'āh.

According to the best of our knowledge, the work exists in *ms.* and its only copy is available in the British Museum Library.⁴ It is divided into six sections, dwells upon in sequence the history of Yusūf, Ismail, Ibrāhīm I, Ali I, Ibrāhīm II and Muhammad Ādils'āh. Out of these, last two sections are fuller than the previous ones and embrace 2/3 of the work. As the *Tazkirāt-ul-Mulūk* brings the narrative of history upto 1610

A.D., the *Futūhāt-e-Ādilshāhī* is useful for the history of Malik Ambar upto the former's death.

The work throws light on the early life of Malik Ambar, his dealings with Abhangkhān, Saādatkhān, the Khānkhānān, Rājū, Murtazā Nizāms'āh II, Ibrāhim Ādils'āh II, the Nizāms'āhī nobles, the military campaigns of the Moghuls and the battle of Bhāt-wādī. Only a few dates are mentioned in the work, but the *Akbarnāmā* illuminates its chronological sequence of events with definite dates, the *Futūhāt-e-Ādilshāhī* offers clues to identify a few toponyms of the *Akbarnāmā*, whose value is marred by some incorrect place-names. The first half and the second half of the work are, now, available in English translations made by K.K. Basu (J.B.O.R.S.-XXIV-2) and J.N. Sarkār (I.H.Q.-X, 629-44.) respectively. The Marāthī translation of the later half of the work is available in Q.B.I.S.M.-XX-2.⁵

5. ABŪ-'L-FAZL' ALLĀMĪ: The *Akbarnāmā* :

The third volume of this important work is very useful for the Deccan campaigns of Akbar's times. It gives a few glimpses of the history of the Deccan of his regime. But, it has to be used in collaboration with other contemporary authorities, as the author in his enthusiasm to praise his royal master has tried, at times, to give false scent to certain events. One must read the work in between the lines in order to grasp the truth fully or otherwise the reader is left in the air. The work is replete with colossal ignorance of the local geography of the Deccan, which mars its utility for the purpose. The author of the present monograph has attempted to identify some of pertinent toponyms in annotated references and notes appended, wherever possible.

This monumental work is available to the English-reading public in translation made by Jarrett and Henry Beveridge.*

6. JAHĀNGĪR, THE EMPEROR: the *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* :

The memoirs of Jahāngīr are translated in English by Alexander Rogers and edited by Henry Beveridge in two volumes (Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1909). Jahāngīr wrote

the account till the end of the seventeenth year when he asked Mutāmad Khān to continue on his behalf. Even this continuation does not bring it to the end of Jahāngīr's reign and stops short at the beginning of the nineteenth year.⁷

From the accession of the Jahāngīr in 1605 A.D., to the death of Malik Ambar, all major events in the Deccan are described, which cover the Moghul victories and defeats, their successes and discomfitures and some of the achievements of Ambar have been graphically and vividly depicted. Throughout the whole life-time Jahāngīr spoke of Ambar in abusive and disparaging terms. However, the impartial and unbiased tribute to the talented Nizāms'āhī premier in the *Tatimmā-i-Tuzul-i-Jahāngīrī* deserves appreciation.

7. MU'TĀMAD KHĀN, MUHAMMAD SHARĪF: the *Iqbāl-nāmah-e-Jahāngīrī*:

This is an important contemporary authority on the subject. The author continued the Memoirs of Jahāngīr to the beginning of the 19th year, and later on he took up the narrative of his reign in his own work, *Iqbāl-nāmah-e-Jahāngīrī* and on matters he writes with the authority of an eye-witness. The first two parts of the work, concerned with the history of the Timurids to the death of Humāyun and the reign of Akbar are rare, but the third part has been published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta in the Bibliothecā Indicā Series; portions of the latter parts are translated into English in Elliot and Dowson's History of India as told by her own historians, Volume VI.⁸

8. 'ABD al-HAVY 'SĀRIM' AURANGĀBĀDĪ: the *Māsir-ul-umrā* (Maāthir al-umarā):

This is a well-known biographical dictionary of the Moghul public servants written in 1742-45 A.D. by S'ah Nawāz Khān and revised by his son. It is based on contemporary accounts and is very useful work of reference. Original new information has been added by the author's son, Abdul Khān and the whole work has been rearranged by him. In the biographical sketches

of Jahāngīr's peers, the Khānkhānān and others, it incorporates an outline of the Moghul wars with Malik Ambar.⁹

9. 'ABD al-BĀQĪ b. BĀBĀ-e-KURD NIHĀWANDĪ: the *Māasir-i-Rahīmī* (*Ma'āthir-e-Rahīmī*):

The author of this work was an official under the Khānkhānān who composed it in 1025 A.H./1616 A.D. It deals with the politics of the latter part of the reign of Akbar and early part of that of Jahāngīr. It is divided into 4 parts. A great portion of the work is devoted to the details about the Khānkhānān and is written "in so fulsome strain of eulogy that it is difficult to know what faith to put in it."¹⁰ Though valuable in so much as it does not literally copy Firishtāh as was usually done and follows its own note. The Persian version of the work has been edited by Hidāyat Husayn in three volumes (Bibliothecā Indicā Series, Calcutta, 1910-31.).¹¹ The work is useful and valuable for its reliable and detailed accounts of the campaigns of the Khānkhānān and his son against Malik Ambar down to 1025 A.H./1616 A.D. and the history of Rājū Deccanī.¹²

10. BHĪMSEN b. RAGHŪNANDANDĀS: The *Nuskha-i-Dil Kasha*: (DIL GUSHĀ)

The author was a civil officer of the Moghul Government in the Deccan during the reign of Aurangzeb. His work is useful for its narrative of some of the circumstances leading to the battle of Bhāt-wādī and unbiased appreciation of Malik Ambar. The work is very rare.¹³

11. 'ABD al-HAMID LĀHĀURĪ: *Pādshāh-nāmah*:

This work comes from the pen of one of the court historians of S'āh Jahān. He completed his work on the 9th November, 1648. The work covers the first 20 years of S'āh Jahān's reign. It incorporates a general summary of the Moghul wars with Malik Ambar, but its account of S'āh Jahān's campaign against Ahmadnagar is quite detailed.

12. KHĀFĪ (or KHWĀFĪ) KHĀN: *Muntakhab-al-lubāb* or *Tārīkh-e-Khāfi Khān*:

It is a voluminous history from the Muhammadan conquest of India to the fourteenth year of the reign of Muhammad S'ah, written in the first part of the eighteenth century, giving an account of the Moghul emperors in some details. This disgust is not very useful for Malik Ambar's history. Its full text is, now, available in the Bibliothecā Indicā Series of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.¹⁴

13. The *Epigraphicā Indo-Moslemicā*. (1907-08 and supplements)

This work is valuable in throwing direct and clear light on reconstruction of the genealogy of the Nizāms'āhī dynasty, which remained unnoticed by previous modern scholars. The misconception and mystery about Murtazā Nizāms'āh II and Burhān Nizāms'āh III are cleared away convincingly to which vague and indirect references are found in the contemporary Portuguese, Dutch and Marāthī records and even in the *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* but they could not be fully comprehended by even modern eminent scholars. In "*The Nizāms'āhī Line of Rulers Reconstructed*" (B.N.U. H.S., No. 7, April, 1952.) it has been impeachably established on the basis of the Indian and foreign records that Murtazā Nizāms'āh II and Burhān Nizāms'āh III were two different persons and sovereigns.¹⁵

14. NIZĀM-al-DĪN AHMAD HARAWĪ: The *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* or *Tabaqāt-e-Akbarī* or *Tabaqāt-e-Akbar Shāhī* or *Tārīkh-e-Nizāmī*:

It is one of the earliest of the general histories exclusively devoted to India and has been the basis of many subsequent works. The history of Akbar's reign is translated practically in full in *E.D.-V*, 247-476.¹⁶ Its text and complete translation by B.De has been published in Bibliothecā Indicā Series. The work is not directly useful for the history of Malik Ambar, except for its brief reference to the enthronement of Murtazā Nizāms'āh by Malik Ambar.¹⁷

15. IBRĀHĪM b. MĪR HUSAYN LŪR ASADKHĀNĪ: the *Haft-Kursī*:

The MS, stocked in the India Office Library (Ethe's cata-

logue, Vol. I, No. 454), has been obtained by the *B.I.S.M.* and translated into Marāthī in *S.C.V.S.-II* (B.I.S.M. Series, No. 52). On the first page of the *MS*, it is entered in Persian that the annals of the period extending over the rules of Yusūf Beg Sāvī to Sikandar are recorded, covering the period of seven sovereigns, and in the Modī script the remark to the effect that "Kaifiyet (of) the Deccan Prānt, Bijāpur City solely in Persian in Book One" is recorded. The utility of the *MS*. is enhanced by insertion of little known toponyms in Modī script to pronounce them correctly and to identify them precisely. On the last page, the name of Min Tasnif Fitūrkhān occurs as its author. The whole work seems to have been written by Abdul Muhammad, entitled S'āh Nawāz Khān, to which Min Tasnif Fitūrkhān has added the latter portion and the annals have been brought down to 1662 A.D. The published Marāthī translation of the work incorporates a brief history of Ibrāhīm Ādils'āh II, Muhammad Ādils'āh, Alī Adils'āh with dates and a concluding supplement, giving a genealogical table of the Ādils'āhī rulers and a note on the city of Bijāpur.¹⁸

For our purpose, the entry in the chronology of Ibrāhīm Ādils'āh II, pertaining to the year 1033 A.H., referring to S'āhjī as unparalleled vazir of the Bijāpur Court is of immense value in determining the likely time when he left the Nizāms'āhi service, after the battle of Bhāt wādī in 1624 A.D.

(b) *Sanskrit sources:*

Sanskrit sources embrace grants, historical poetic works and inscriptions. There are a few Sanskrit works pertaining to the times of Malik Ambar.

Not a single Sanskrit work concerned itself directly or exclusively with the life of Malik Ambar.

16. KAVĪNDRA PARMĀNĀND : *The Aṇu Purāṇa* or the *S'iva-Bhārat*

This epic poem, composed at the instance of S'ivājī in about 1670 A.D., deals with the lives of Mālojī, S'āhjī and S'ivājī and ends abruptly with S'ivājī's conquest of Prabhāvalī and its proximity in April, 1661 A.D., in canto 32, śloka, 9. The

narrative of the poem is in the form of a dialogue between the poet and brahmans of Vārāṇasī, where the Kavindra had gone on a pilgrimage between 1664 and 1673 A.D. The poem has been edited with a Marāṭhī translation and copious notes in a sumptuous edition by S.M. Divekar (*B.I.S.M.*, 1927).

The search for the original Sanskrit version by the editor of the poem was preceded by unearthing its subsequent Tāmil version in the Sarasvatī Mahāl Palace Library at Tanjor.

The poet was a resident of Nivāse (Nidhivās), on the Pravarā river. Only two dates bearing on S'ivāji's birth and Afzal Khān's assassination, occurring in the poem, are claimed to be correct by the editor. The other events and incidents are depicted in their chronological order.

From our view-point, the poetic work is useful for depicting the life of Māloji who was in the service of the Nizāms'āhī court, his relations and dealings with Jādhava Rāo, the Khandāgale incident, the contemporary political actions and dealings of the Deccan rulers, namely, the Nizāms'āh, the Ādils'āh, Qutbs'āh and Barīds'āh and also the Portuguese power in India, ranged against the southern invasions of the Moghuls, the decisive battle of Bhātawādi in 1624 A.D. in which Ambar inflicted a crushing defeat on the Moghul and Ādils'āhī forces and the rise of S'āhji into power and influence in the Nizāms'āhī court.

Y.G. Fafe has raised some doubts regarding the correct names of persons in this historical poetic work.¹⁸

17. RUDRA KAVI : *Nabāb Khānkhānān charitam*:

This is another Sanskrit poetic work of indirect use for the history of Malik Ambar. "This work has been compiled in the form of a *chāmpū-kāvya* between the years 1596 and 1609 A.D. at the suggestion of Prataps'āh of Bāglān. Pratāps'āh had a long struggle with the forces of Akbar but ultimately developed happy relations with the Imperial court at Delhi and was on good terms with Jahāngir. This work is a *virgāthā* of Khān-e-Khānān 'Abd-al-Rahim in Sanskrit."¹⁹

(c) *Marāthī sources* :

The earlier authors of recent publications on Malik Ambar have not been able to do justice to these fully. The present author has utilised them with assiduous care and critical examination and interpretation. The Marāthī sources may be classified into the following categories (i) Marāthī chronicles, (ii) Chronologies (S'ākāvalis), (iii). Family histories, (iv). Inscriptions and (v) Contemporary and later original documents.

18. Marathī Chronicles or *Bakhars* :

The names of the *Bakhars* which deal with events anterior to S'āhji's times or the S'ivāji-Period are cited below:

| Serial No. | Title | Year of composition |
|------------|--|---------------------|
| 1. | 91-Qalamī Bakhar | 1685 A.D. |
| 2. | Sabhāsad Bakhar ²⁰ | 1694 A.D. |
| 3. | Shivadigvijaya Bakhar ²¹ | 1718 A.D. |
| 4. | Chitraguptāchī Bakhar | 1759 A.D. |
| 5. | Rairī Bakhar, the English Translation. (Forrest's selections) | 1805 A.D. |
| 6. | Chitnis : Sapt-Prakaranātma Chartra. | 1810 A.D. |
| 7. | Marāthī Sāmarajyāchī Chhotī Bakhar | 1817 A.D. |
| 8. | Tārikh-e-S'ivāji (Persian) ²² | 1820 A.D. |
| 9. | S'ivāji Pratāp ²³ | 1822 A.D. |

Out of the nine *bakhars* nos 1, 5, 7 and 8 have borrowed profusely from the same original *sources*. Out of the remaining *bakhars*, Chitragupta's *Bakhar* is an enlarged edition of the *Sabhāsad Bakhar*. This leaves only three *bakhars* written independently.

The evaluation of these *bakhars* from the standpoint of authentic history has been already attempted so threadbare by such scholars as G. S. Sardesai, J. N. Sarkar, S. N. Sen, Bālkrishna, V.S. Wākaskar and others, particularly, for the history of S'āhji and S'ivāji that this need not detain us any longer. They are replete with myths and legends, inversion of dates, lack of chronological sequence, distortion of personal names and toponyms. It may be emphasized that the *bakhars* are not totally useless as they form the starting point for the search

for possible historical truths and, at times, make references to valuable past traditions.

Bākrishna contends that the *91-Qalamī-Bakhar*, the *Marāthī Sāmrajyāchī Chhotī Bakhar* and *Tārikh-e-S'ivājī* (History of S'ivājī in Persian) are related to each other. The last two are based on the first one. There are three different recensions of the *91-Qalamī Bakhar*. Any earnest scholar of history cannot lose sight of the fact that they contain only a few grains of truth, buried under the debris of myths and fables. However, scholars of repute have made use of these *bakhars* for writing their original works with discriminating faculty and judicious selection.

From the point of the life of Malik Ambar, it may be said safely that the *bakhar*-writers were totally ignorant about him, as will be revealed from a few passages cited from Wākaskar's edition of the *91-Qalamī Bakhar*, composed by Minister Dattājī Trimal Wākenavis below for adjudging its authenticity:

(1) 11th Section of the *91-Qalamī Bakhar*, and its counterparts:

"On attainment of twenty-five years of age by S'āhjī, the two elders in the family (father and uncle) breathed their last." Similarly, it is stated that Nizāms'āh Bahri died in the same year, leaving two minor sons. All these statements have no warrant in authentic history. Further, these events were followed by the enthronement of a minor boy by S'āhjī. It was Malik Ambar who set an example by raising a minor boy of the Nizāms'āhī dynasty to the vacant throne of Murtazā Nizāms'āh II, who came to be styled as Burhān Nizāms'āh III in the year, 1610 A.D. (Refer to the *supra*, No. 13) (2). 17th Section: the same error regarding S'āhjī's attempt at the enthronement of a minor boy of the Nizāms'āhī during the regimē of Malik Ambar is reiterated. (3). The incident regarding Malik Ambar's crossing the Bhimā river in spate smacks of a fairy tale. (18th Section). (4). The statement that S'āhjī left for Karnātak, though he was present at the battle field of Bhātawādī and fought valiantly against the Moghul and Ādils'āhī forces on behalf of the Nizāms'āhī ruler, is evidently false and absolutely unreliable. The reference to Murār Jagdeo's victory over Malik

Ambar in 1633 A.D. is without any basis in history, as Ambar died in 1626 A.D. (5). The name of Sultān S'ikandar (Adils'āh), ruler of Bijāpur in lieu of Ibrāhīm Ādils'āh II (21st Section). (6). The death of Malik Ambar followed that of Ibrāhīm Ādils'āh II of Bijāpur (23rd Section).

More detailed investigation of the *bakhars* will not repay our efforts, as the relevant statements have been fully examined in annotated notes, where their use has been made for connected narrative of Malik Ambar's life. This points to the conclusion that the materials embodied in the *bakhars* need to be used with due caution and judicious care.

19. The *Ghorpade Bakhar* (Edited by D.V. Āpte, *B.I.S.M.*, Poonā, 1934).

This Persian work, seems to have been composed in 1690 A.D., D.V. Āpte has translated it into Marāthī. He is of opinion that the work has been written by Gogī Kāzī at Bijāpur, in collaboration with S'ivānand S'armā, the aged *daftar-dār* of the family of Ghorpade. The work has also tapped the existing work of Firishtāh, though to a large extent, it is independently composed.

As it purports to throw light on the political and military activities of the persons of the Ghorpade family of Mudhol, the general history of the Deccan has been dwelt upon in a superficial and sketchy manner. The portion relevant to our purpose is covered in pages 219-225, concerned with the rule of Ibrāhīm Ādils'āh II, contemporaneous with Ambar's time. The *bakhar* refers to the investment of the fort of Ahmadnagar in 1597-98 A.D. by the Moghuls, the heroic defence of Chānd Bībī against the besiegers, the march of the Bijāpurī commander, Sahīl Khān (Suhail Khān in the *A.N.*) with a force of 30,000 to the rescue of the fort, the abandoning of the siege by the Khān-khānān, the return of the Moghuls to Ahmadnagar in 1601 A.D., the payment of tribute by the Ādils'āh to the Moghul emperor, betrothal of Ādils'āh's daughter to Prince Daniyāl, the celebration of the wedding in 1604-05 A.D., the subsequent deaths of the prince and the emperor, the enthronement of Jahāngīr, the march of Mān Singh with Prince Parwiz to the

Deccan campaign in 1608-09 A.D., the Ādils'āh's help to the Nizāms'āhis against the Moghuls, the success of the Moghuls in 1615 A.D. at Ahmadnagar against Malik Ambar, the murder of Chānd Bībī, Ibrāhim Ādils'āh's capture of the Barids'āh's son and the capture of Karnool, the illness of the Ādils'āh and his subsequent death.

(ii) *Chronologies :*

20. The JEDHE SHAKĀVALĪ :

Besides, the Persian chronology known as the *Haft Kursī*, already cited under no. 15, the Marāthī chronology known as the *Jedhe S'akāvali* is equally important for its authentic entry of dates.²⁴ The birth-date of Aurangzeb, the dates of the battle of Bhāt-wādī, Malik Ambar's capture of Sholāpur, S'āh Jahān's asylum with Malik Ambar, and the death of Malik Ambar are fairly accurate.

21. The YĀDĪNĀMĀ

Another chronology in Marāthī entitled, '*Parganā Wai Yādīnāmā*', obtained by the late S.G. Joshī from Wāi,²⁵ incorporates the history of Mohammad Tughluq upto the annals of 1706 A.D. The vein of writing in the chronology unfolds that it has been written to extol the services of some family to the Marāthās, though it mostly deals with the history of Ādils'āhī rulers. The details of its compilation seem to be 1707 A.D. on the basis of some Mohammadan history.

The work is valuable for the names of the officers stationed at Wāi and some major events in the history of the Deccan.

It makes a reference to the extinction of the Nizāms'āhi kingdom, which is historically baseless.

(iii) *Family Histories :*

22. The JEDHE KAREENĀ :

Not unlike the Ghorpade Bakhar of Mudhol, the *Jedhe Kareenā* is a historical document of the Jedhe Des'mukh of Tālukā Bhor, fort Rohidā in the heart of one of the twelve principal valleys (Twelve Māwals) along the eastern spurs of the Sahyādri Range. G.S. Sardesai in his editorial remarks

says that it gives "a vivid picture of those dim old times, which are not less stirring or historically less important, we know so little of them. "The few notices of Malik Ambar's life include the capture of Fort Kelanjā (Mohangad) probably between 1621 and 1623 A.D.²⁶ by Kānhoji Nāik Jedhe, and death of Malik Ambar in Vais'ākh of the Kshaya Year, 1578 (May, 1626 A.D.). The rest of the *Kareenā* is devoted to the personal attainments and achievements of the Des'mukh family with a few scattered glimpses of historical events of the times of S'āhjī and S'ivājī and comes down to the capture of Rāigad by the Moghuls on the 3rd November, 1689.

(iv) *Inscriptions* :

23. *Sri Brihadeśwaraswāmī Temple Inscription in Marāthī*²⁷

Besides the inscriptions incorporated in the *Epigraphica Indo-Moslemicā*, the only other inscription, written during the regime of S'ri S'arajōjī, father of the last ruler of the Bhonsle family at Tanjor, namely, Sri S'ivājī Mahārāj is of use to us. The last date mentioned in the inscription is the 13th December, 1803 A.D. The authorship of the inscription is ascribed to a personal servant of Srimant Rāje-Sri Mahārāj Kshatrapati Sarajōjī Rāje, the ruler of the C'oladesh. He was the *Chitṛīs* (Secretary) named Baburaya of Kas'ap Gotra of As'vālayan Sūtra of the Rg-Śākhā. The Marāthī language is less refined and polished than that of Marāthī Daftars or Secretariates.²⁸

The family genealogy of the Bhonsle dynasty is quite distorted in this inscription. The disjointed and emended annals of the 17th century are altogether useless. The undistorted portion, derived from the Śiva-Bhārat is relatively authentic and reliable.

The historical materials of the inscription might have unconsciously distorted or there might be wilful distortion to extol the prestige and credit of the Tanjor Bhonsles.

The names of Hindu and Muslim military leaders of the Moghul, Nizāms'āhī and Ādils'āhī forces at the battle of Bhātawādi mentioned are valuable for comparison with the lists of other contemporary and later sources.

(v) *The Marāthī Contemporary and other documents :*

24. *Eminent Scholars:*

Under this category, we may consider the documents published by eminent scholars on their own initiative. Out of 22 volumes of *'The Sources of the Marāthā History'* by V.K. Rājwāde two of them are highly useful to our purpose, namely, Vols. XV and XX and here and there miscellaneous and writings of this scholar, having a bearing on Malik Ambar's times. For the present purpose K.N. Sāne's *'Patra Yādī Waghaire,'* the *Sabhāsad Bakhar*, the *Chitnis Bakhar* are pertinent. The most useful paper of V.V. Khare is *Mālojī and S'āhji*. Of the records published by D.B. Parāsnis *Sanads and Letters* throw some light on the annexations and conquests effected by Malik Ambar in the early part of his political career. The *Pes'wā Daftar* contains a few documents useful to us.

25. *The Publications of the Bhārāt Itihās Sanshodhak Mandal, Poonā:*

The publications under this section make up several thousand pages. These may be classified into the following categories : (a) Transactions and proceedings of seven conferences in the publication series and *Itivrittas* (annual bulletins) for Shaka 1834, 1835, 1836, 1837 and 1838, (b) *S'iva-charitra Sāhitya*, 12 parts, (c) *S'iva-Charitra Vrata Sangarh*, Parts I-III, incorporating Kanarese and Persian sources, translated into Marāthī, (d) Miscellaneous Historical Articles/Essays, Parts I-XII, (e) *Patra-Sār-Sangrah*, 3 Volumes. The *Patra-Sār-Sangrah* is immensely valuable as an index in tracing out the relevant original papers, bearing on our present topic.

In addition to the above, voluminous papers have appeared from time to time in the issues of the *Quarterly of B.I.S.M.* It is, indeed, a stupendous task to find out the scattered useful materials for our purpose and then to interpret them properly in a judicious spirit. The materials embody state papers, family papers, private communications, religious and other grants, judicial decisions, government rules, and procedures, revenue system, and the like. They are valuable for getting at minute, accurate and pertinent details of conquests and annexations,

mutuals dealing and relations of the Deccan Sultānates and also, at places, notices of the activities of foreigners resident in the Deccan, such as the Portuguese, the English, and the Dutch and their impact on the contemporary politics, Nizāms'āhī administrative organisation, administrative divisions and their officers and officials, financial resources and state expenses, defence arrangements, mode of warfare and similar allied aspects. For the sake of space economy, a detailed assessment of the historical value of these documentary papers cannot be attempted here. The researcher has to guard against forged or spurious papers. Nevertheless, it may be noted that these Marāthī documents are immensely valuable with a few exceptions and, whenever necessary, comments and remarks have been added in annotated notes of the monograph on Malik Ambar for sake of clarity and illustration of obscure facts.

(d) *Foreign Sources:*

26. (i) *The Portuguese sources:*

The Portuguese, mostly entrenched on the west coast of India, came into direct contact with Malik Ambar. They were keen and anxious to safeguard their monopoly of trade with India, which compelled them to keep the track of the new developments in the contemporary politics and react suitably to them. The following published and unpublished sources of the Portuguese origin may be cited as pertinent to our purpose:

- (1). *Rev. Heras*: 'The Portuguese Alliance with the Mohamadan kingdoms of the Deccan.' (Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, New Series, I-122 25),
- (2). *P.S. Pissurlencer*: 'Os Portuguese Contra Os Mogois no Deccan.' (Herald of New Goa, Oct., 1926),
- (3). *S.N. Sen*: Preliminary Report on the Historical Records at Goa,
- (4) *J.H. da Cunha*: 'Arquivo Portuguez Oriental',
- (5). Academie Real des Sciences,
- (6). St Benediet Collection which incorporate (a) Corpo Documents Remittidos, (b) Gavetas Antigas, (c) Cartas Missivas, (d) Cartaz doo Reis, (e) Cutpo Chronologico,
- (7). *Judice Biker*: Trabodo da India,
- (8). Pombal Collection,
- (9). Notes of *F.C Oanvengo* on the Portuguese Records of India,

Vols. I-III (Aundh Archivo), (10) *Faria-e-Souza*: Manuel de Asia Portuguesa' (Bol. I, Lissabon, 1666, Bol. II, Lissabon, 1674, Tomes I-III, Bol. III, Lissabon, 1675 (Zweite Auegabe im Jaht, 1703), (11). *P.S. Pissurlencar*: 'The Extinction of the Nizams' ahi Dynasty. (Sardesai Commemoration Volume, 1938.), (12). *Antigas Conselho Ultra Marinos*, (13). *Q.B.I.S.M-XII*, 1-3, for the Triple alliance among the Deccan Sultanates, (14). *Judice Biker*: *Cooecco de Tratrados*, (15). *Gerson da Cunha*: Notes on the History and Antiquities of Chaul (Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society), (16). *Documentos Remetidos da India*, (17). *Chronista de Tisscary*, Tomes III & IV, (18). *Barros Joao de*: *Decadas da Asia*. Lissabon, 1628-1736, (19). *Bocarro, Antonio*: *Livro das Plantas todes as fortale zao, citdese provoacoes do E'stato da India Orientale*, (20). *Barbosa*: *Livro de Duarate Barbosa*, issued by the Lisbon Royal Academy of Sciences, as Vol. ii, no. vii of *Collacco de Noticias para a Historia e Geographia das Nacoes Ultramarino*, the translation of which has been issued for the Haklyut Society in 1865, (21) *Dacadas (Decasas) da Asia* by *J. de Barros and D. de Couto*, 24 Vols, Lisbon, 1777-88., (22) *Livros das Moncoes (Books of Monsoons)*,²⁹ (Journal of the Bombay Historical Society, Vol. II.), (23) Portuguese Records pertaining to Malik Ambar from the Portuguese Archives, obtained with the kind courtesy of Prof. P.S. Pissurlencar and translated by Fausto P. Gomes, Librarian of Heras Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay and revised by its Director, Anthony D'Costa, S.J.³⁰

The significance of the above-cited Portuguese documents and published papers cannot be overrated from the view-point of their shedding light on some corners of still unknown history of Malik Ambar, dealing with the contemporary politics, his relations with the Portuguese, the Portuguese relations with the Moghul emperors, etc. The author has utilised the relevant portions of translations of these documents in English and Marāthī for his purpose.

(ii) *The English sources:*

(1). *The English Factories in India*, Vols. I-XIII, edited by Sir William Foster and published under the authority of the

Secretary of State of India. From these volumes isolated events of Malik Ambar's life and activities can be gleaned. They also throw into bold relief his relations with the English and their contemporary opinion on Ambar.

(2) *Letters received by the East India Company from its servants in the East*, 6 Vols (1602-1617), with an introduction by *Federick Charles Danvers* (Samson Low, Marston & Co., London, 1896). These volumes highlight the trading activities of the English and articles of merchandise and indirectly the contemporary geo-political conditions also.

(iii). *The Dutch sources:*

As the Dagh Register begins from the year 1624 A.D., it is not useful to us. The excerpts cited by Bālkrishṇa in his work on Sh'ivājī the Great, Vol. I. Pt. 1 are posterior to Ambar's times. The Dutch sources may be listed as below:

(1) *Joannes De Laet*, the Flemish geographer, philologist and naturalist, has published his work known as *De Imperio Magni Mogolis, sive India vera, commentarius ex variis auctoritatis congestus*. On the authority of Sir Roper Lethbridge it may be concluded that *De Imperio Magni Mogolis* was regarded both by De Laet and the public as the most important and valuable work. (2). *Pietro Van den Broecke's Fragmentum* gives a consecutive history of the reigns of Akbar and Jahāngir. The chronicle is said to have been sent to Holland in 1627 A.D. by the Director at Surat. The Dutch *ms* of the Fragment was entrusted to De Laet, who translated it into Latin. The Fragment, associated with the name of Van den Broecke, appears to be primarily the work of Pelsaert. "It is difficult to decide exactly Van den Broecke's share in the work, there need be no doubt that De Laet's part was merely that of a translator and compiler, with a sprinkling of information concerning events that occurred after 1627 A.D."³¹

De Laet has drawn upon the writings of Roe, Palsaert, Terry, Finch, Withington, Hawkins, Steel, Crowther, Benedict and Gracia which makes his work a monument of pains-taking industry and a storehouse of varied information.³²

I cite below other Dutch sources kindly furnished by Prof. P.S. Pissurlencar, Director of the Portuguese Archives at Goa for the benefit of those who may feel interested in them :

(3) Van den Brocke: *Begin ende voortgangh van de vereenigde Nederlandtsche Geotroyeerd oost Indische Compagnie*. Amsterdam. 1646, (2) The Dutch in Malabar: Selections from the Records of the Madras Governmens Records, No. 13, 1911, (3) Hay: *De retus Ioponicis, Indini set Pervanio*, (4) Van Der Chijns: *Geschiedemis der Stichting Van de Vereenigde O.I. Compagnie*, (5) Van Dijk: *Zes Jaren uit het Leven Van Wemmer Van Berchen*. By L.C.D. Van Dijk, Amsterdam, 1858., (6) Van Twist: *General Beschrijvinge van Indien*, Amsterdam, 1648.

(e) *The Contemporary European Travellers:*

(i) *The English Travellers and Navigators:*

(1). *William Foster : Early Travels in India* (Oxford University Press, 1921) : contains the travel accounts of Ralph Fitch (1583-91), John Midenhall (1599-1606), William Hawkins (1608-11), Nicholas Withington (1612-16), Thomas Coryat (1612-17) and Edward Terry (1616-19), (2) *William Foster: Sir Thomas Roe's Embassy*, Haklyut Society, 1822, 2 Vols., (3) *William Foster: The Journal of John Jourdain*, Haklyut Society, 1905, (4) Haklyut Richard: *The Principall Navigations etc.*, 4 Vols. London, 1598-1600, (5) *Sir Clements Markham: Hawkins' Voyages*, Haklyut Society, (6) *Purchas, Samuel: Purchas His Pilgrims*, and (7) Kerridge's voyages.

(ii) *The Dutch Travellers:*

(1) Pieter Gillis Van Revestyn visited Malik Ambar's camp in 1615 I have drawn upon Terpetra's relevant excerpts from *De Vestiging Van de Netherlanders aon de Kust Van Koromandel*, Groningen, 1911, translated by R.D. Wādekar in *Q.B.I.S.M.*-XI-1, (2) Van den Brocke: *Begin ende Voortganah Van de Vereeningde Nederlandtsche Geotroyeerd oost Indische Compagnie*, Amsterdam (1646), (iii) *Petro Della Valle: Travels*. (1620)³³

(iii) *The French Traveller: the Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies*, translated and edited for the Haklyut Society by Grey, 1887-89.

(iv) *The Italian Traveller* : Pietro Della Valle (1624): Travels to India edited by E. Gray for the Haklyut Society.

In all the above European documents and travels the names of persons and places are spelt by their authors in their own ways. They have to be utilised with discriminating faculty for the proper interpretation. The isolated allusions to Malik Ambar in these accounts need verification from other independent contemporary sources, as they may mislead a researcher. They are, sometimes, based on hear-say, containing half truths or distorted versions of events.

(f). *Modern Works*:

It is needless to examine critically the works of recent eminent scholars, as the interested reader can have relatively easy access to them. However, wherever it has been deemed necessary, the relevant comments have been made in the annotated notes at their proper places. The recent works have been listed as follows:

(1) The *Busātīn-us-Salātīn* (Hindi Edition), Baroda, 1895 A.D.

Both Rieu and Ethe state that the author of this historical work named Muhammad Ibrāhīm Zubāyri has based his writing on (1) *Fīrishtāh's* 'Naurasnāmā, (2) *Mīr Raft-uddīn Shirāzi's* Tazkirāt-ul Mulūk, (3) *Mullā Zuhūr's* Muahmmad Nāmā, (4) *Sayyad Nurullāh's* Inasha-e-Adih Shahiyya, (5) *Nusrati's* Ali Nāmā and (6) *Shaikh, Abul Hasan's* History of Ādils'āhī Dynasty. The two books, namely, (3) and (6) were unavailable to him, in spite of the search for them. Of other books also, except *Firishtāh*, he does not seem to have made use. The author states that "a few sheets of part written as rough drafts, some by S'aikh Abul Hasan and a few by Ibrāhīm Āsadkhānī, had been collected (and were with me) Some friends of mine asked me to put the loose sheets in order and complete them into a book. At first, I avoided it being useless; but later on I agreed to do. Before I could revise the work compiled, a few copies were made and circulated. Thereafter I revised it and removed passages which appeared to be fit for omission, made additions

as seemed to be desirable and abridged some matter from Firishtāh and Khāfi Khān. "According to the author, his sources are the loose and disordered sheets written as rough drafts by S'āikh Abul Hasan and Ibrāhīm Khān Āsadkhānī and here and there Firishtāh, Khāfi Khān, etc.³⁴

The work, completed in 1824 A.D., embodies brief but lucid and graphic accounts of Malik Ambar's wars and battles, his wranglings with Murtazā Nizāms'āh II, dealings with Miyā Rajū and Ibrāhīm Adils'āh II and an account of the battle of Bhāt wādī.

Other modern works are listed below:

- (2) Terpestra, H.: *De Vestging Van de Netherlanders aan de kust Van Koromandel*. Groningen, 1911. (Dutch), (3) *Ibid*: *De opkompst der Wester-Kwartiern Van de oost-Indische Compagnie* (Suratte, Arabic, Perzie), The Hague, 1918, (Dutch), (4) J.K.K. De Jonge: *De opkompst Van liet Nederlandsch Gezaf in oost-India*. Amsterdam and the Hague, 1862, etc. (Dutch), (5) Van der Chijis: *Geschiedemis de Stichtones Van de Vereenigde O.I. Compagnie* by J.A. Vanderchijis, 2nd edition, Leyden, 1857. (Dutch), (6) L.C.O. Van Dijk: *Jaren Wit het Leven Van Wenmer Van Berchem*, Amsterdam, 1858 (Dutch), (7) James Grant Duff: *A History of the Malhrāttās* (Oxford University Press, 1921), Vol I., (English), (8) Beni Prasad: *History of Jahāngīr* (English), (9) J.N. Sarkār, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vols. I & II, (S.C. Sarkar, College Square, Calcutta, 1916, (English), (10) Major T.W. Haig: *Historical Landmarks of the Deccan*, Pioneer Press, Allahabad, 1907 (English), (11) G.S. Sardesai: *S'ahji*, Marathi Riyasat, Keshav Bhikājī Dhawale, Girgāon, Bombay, 1935, (12) Bālkrishna : Shivājī, *the Great*, Vol. I, Pt. 1, (D.B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay, 1932) (English), (13) V.S. Bendre: *Mālojī Rāje and S'āhjī Mahārāj* (Marāthi), Fergusson College Road, Poona-8, 1967, (14) W.H. Moreland: *India at the Death of Akbar*, Atma Ram & Sons, Delhi-6, (English), 1962, (15) *Ibid.*, *Akbar to Aurangzeb*, (English), (16) *Ibid*: *The Agrarian System of Moslem India*, Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, 90-B, Subhāsh Mārg Delhi-6, (English), (17) Seeley: *The Wonder of Elora*, (English), (18) James Burgess: *Report On the antiquities in the Bidar and Aurngabād districts* (English),

(19). *Chaul : Eine under forechte Stadt An Der Westkuste Indiens.* (German) (Wehr, Sakral-und Profanurhitektur Von Gritli Von Mitferwallner, 1964, Walter De Criter & Co., Berlin).³⁵ (20) Federick Charles Danvers: *The Portuguese in India*, being a History of the Rise and Decline of their Empire, Vols. I & II, London, 1894, (21) R.S. Whineway: *The Rise of the Portuguese Power in India*, London, 1899 (English), (22) Vithal Trimbak Guṇe: *The Judicial System of the Marathas* (Deccan College, Dissertation Series, 12, Poona, 1953) (English discussion with Marāthī documents), (23) Count Von Noer: *The Emperor Akbar*, (English), (24) V.A. Smith: *Akbar the Great*, (English), (25) Elliot and Dowson: *The History of India as told by its own Historians*, Trubner and Co., London, 1875 (English), (26). *S'iva-Charitra Nibandhāvalī* (Shri Śhiva Chatitra Karyalaya, 1930), 2 Vols, (Marathi), (27) *S'ivaji Nibandhiavalī* (Shri s'iva Charitra Kāryālaya, 1930) Marāthī (28) V.K. Rājwāde : *Rādha-Mādhav-Vilās Champoo*, Chitra S'ālā Press, Poona, 1922, Sanskrit original and Marāthī introduction, (29) C.G. Karve, S.A. Joglekar and P.G. Joshi: *Mahārāshtra Parichaya*, Prasād Prakāshan, Poona, 1954, (Marāthī), (30) *Jogindra Nāth Chondhari: Malik Ambar*, M/S.M.C. Sarkār & Sons Ltd., College Square Calcutta (English), (31). Rādhey Shyam: *Life and Times of Malik Ambar*, Munshirām Manoharlāl, Nai Sarak, Delhi, 1968, (32) An Urdu Life of Malik Ambar by S'aikh Chānd (33) A Marāthī Life of Malik Ambar by V. S, Wākaskar,³⁶ (34) *Provincial and District Gazetteers of the Bombay Presidency* including those pertaining to Gujrat also, (35) G.H.Khare: *Sanshodhakā Chā Mitra* (Guide to researchers), Part I, B.I.S.M., Poonā, 1951.

(g) *Miscellaneous sources:*

The following references have been compiled from D.N. Marshall for the benefit of those who may feel interested in them:

(1) 'ABD al-LATĪF al-LĀH ABBĀSĪ GUJRĀTĪ : *Ruqaāt-e-'Abd al-Latīf*; a rare collection of official letters, compiled by the author of use for the detailed study of Jahāngīr's reign and beginning of that of S'āh Jahān's reign,³⁷ (2) 'ABD al-NA-BĪB QĀZĪ, ABD al-RASŪL 'AHMADNAGARĪ: *Muntakhab-*

e-tawārikh-e-Bāhri: notices, documents, extracts, relating to the history of the Deccan, especially the Nizāms'āh, taken from his own Arabic work, *Jāmi' al-'Ulūm*, also containing Akbar's mandate to the Khānkhānān, treaty between S'āh Jahān and Sultan Muhammad Ādils'āh, S'āh Jahān's farman,³⁸ (3) 'ABD al-SAMAD b. AFZAL MUHAMMAD: *Mukatābat-e-Allāmī*: a collection of official letters of Abul 'Fazl.³⁹ (4) 'ABD al-WAHHĀB b. MUAḤMMAD MA 'MŪRĪ-al-HUSAYNĪ: *Gulshen-e-bālāghāt* an interesting collection of letters, written by whose *takhallus* was Fanā'i (according to Etche and Brown, but 'Anā'i as given in the concise descriptive catalogue of the Persian *miss* in the Curzon Collection, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta by W. Ivanow (626) and who stayed in India at the request of Abul 'Fazl,⁴⁰ (5) 'ABDUL BIJĀPŪRĪ: earliest mathnawī poetry written in Deccani Urdū in about 1605 A.D. by 'Abdul, a court poet of Ibrāhīm Adils'āh II,⁴¹ (6) AFSĀH: *Afsāh al-akhbār*: an abridgment of general history from the earliest times to the accession of S'āh Jahān, 1037 A.H./1628.⁴² (7) FARASHĪ SAFAR: *Nasah nāmāb-e-Qutb-Shāhi*, dynastic history of the Qutb-S'āhi branch of the Bahamanī kingdom of the south. The work is in Persian verse and ends with the beginning of Muhammad Qulī b. Ibrāhīm (986-1020 A.H./1581-1611 A.D.) It is also called *Nisbat nāmāh-e-Shahryārī*,⁴³ (8) 'INĀYAT al-LĀH KĀNBO: *Takmilah-e-Akbarnāmāh*: continuation of the Akbar-nāmā, containing an account of the last four years of Akbar's reign (E.D.-VI, 103-115),⁴⁴ (9) KĀM-GĀR HUSAYNĪ, GHĀIRAT KHĀN: *Maāthir-e-Jahāngīrī*: history of the life and reign of Jahāngīr, completed in 1040 A.H./1630-31. The *Maāthir* is important as a valuable adjunct to the *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, after the *Iqbāl nāmā* and gives useful particulars of Jahāngīr as Prince Salīm, not to be found elsewhere,⁴⁵ (10) *Aḥmadnagar Kaifiyat*: is a history of Ahmadnagar wherein the invasion of the place by the Moghuls and the Marāthās is described and also embodies a list of Moghul officers who resided in the fort,⁴⁶ (11). *Dastūr al'amal-salāṭin-e-Qutbshāhi*: a short treatise on ethics and politics with the duties of rulers and those of their subjects, written for the use of the Qutb-s'āhi and the Deccan kings and wazirs,⁴⁷ (12). *Nan Durbār Desāi Daftar*: family record of Desai family of Nandurbār,

dating from Akbar's reign. The bulk of them are in Modīscrīpt, but there are Persian papers also⁴⁸.

Reference and Notes

1. For details of *mss* of the work, refer *M.I.*, 57.
2. *M.A.*, ix; *B.S.*, 226.
3. *M.I.*, 145-7 & 195-6.
4. *Q.B.I.S.M.*-XX-2, 1 (*S.C.V.S.*-III).
5. For details of *mss*, refer *M.I.*, 147.
6. *M.I.*, 31-33; *B.M.I.*, 27-29; *E.D.*-VI, 1-9.
7. *B.M.I.*, 33-34. The editor of the English translation states that Jahāngīr wrote his memoirs for the first twelve years and distributed, viii, (based on *E.D.*, -VI, 280).
8. For details about *mss*, refer to *M.I.*, 361.
9. *M.I.*, 438; *B.M.I.*, 82.
10. *M.I.*, 4; *B.M.I.*, 41.
11. *M.I.*, 4.
12. *M.A.*, vii.
13. *B.M.I.*, 65.
14. *M.I.*, vii.
15. *B.N.U.H.S.*, No. 7, April, 1952.
16. *A.G.M.*, 338.
17. *B.M.I.*, 35-36; *S.C.V.S.*-II, Persian Section (*B.I.S.M.* Series, No. 53.)
18. For details about Shivāji's Life and Times the whole work can be consulted with advantage and profit.
19. *Q.B.I.S.M.*, -XXIII, 1-2.
20. Translated by S.N. Sen into English under the title of 'S'ivā Chhatrapati'.
21. The Shaka and the Samvatsar of its composition do not agree. However, the language of the *Bakhar* is that of the 18th Century which has been confirmed by V.K. Rājwāde.
22. *S.G.*-I, Pt. 1, Appendix I.
23. Refer also to *Marāthī Daftar*, Rumāl One, S'rimant Mahārājā Bhonsele's *Bakhar*, edited by V.L. Bhāve, Āryabhūshar Press, Thānā, 1917.
24. J.N. Sarkār's translation into English in *Śivaji Souvenir* edited by G.S. Sardesai, 1-44.
25. *S.C.S.*-VI, 58-71.
26. English Translation by J.N. Sarkār in *Shivaji Souvenir*, edited by G.S. Sardesai, 45-62.
27. T. Sāmbamurti Row : The Marāthī Historical Inscription at the Śrī

- Brihadēśwara-swāmī Temple at Tanjor, Sri Krishna-Vilāsa Press at Tanjore, 1907.
28. *Ibid.*, introduction, 3.
 29. J.B.H.S.-II.
 30. *The Nagpur University had sanctioned me travel-grant for this purpose in the summer vacation of 1968. I shall remain ever grateful to the authorities of the University for this financial help.*
 31. J.S. Hoyland and S.N. Banerjee, 'The Empire of the Great Mogol' D.B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay, 1948, v.
 32. *Ibid.*
 33. *Petro Della Valle and Pietro Della Valle are two different travellers.*
 34. S'aikha Abul Kādir Sarfrāz (*Q.B.I.S.M.-X-1, 49-51*).
 35. I had access to this work in Heras Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay. Though the work may not be intelligible to any person not able to read the German language, the maps incorporated in the work are quite useful and valuable.
 36. Nos 34 & 35 are popular writings.
 37. *M.I.*, 14.
 38. *Ibid.*, 16.
 39. *Ibid.*, 25.
 40. *Ibid.*, 27; *B.M.I.*, 205.
 41. *M.I.*, 29.
 42. *Ibid.*, 44.
 43. *Ibid.*, 140.
 44. *Ibid.*, 203.
 45. *Ibid.*, 240; *B.M.I.*, 46.
 46. *M.I.*, 503.
 47. *Ibid.*, 507.
 48. *I.H.R.C.-XXX*, Pt. 2, 73-74.

The Dissensions At Home

I. Precious Little known about the Early Life of Malik Ambar :

In the wake of the dissensions prevalent in the Nizāms'āhī territory, preceding and following the Moghul capture of the fort of Ahmadnagar, Malik Ambar rose by slow degrees into somewhat influential position of honour and dignity from his humble beginnings. He was not born of distinguished parents, and no reliable and connected account of his early life in any form has come to light as yet. He was originally an Abyssinian slave, and, like all other slaves, had probably been sold or transferred from master to master. His last master was Abhangkhān, under whom he soon rose to power. Malik Ambar imitated the acts and deeds of his master, Abhangkhān, in the game of politics. He was sold to Khwaza Kāsīm at Baghdād. Khwāzā Kāsīm sold him to Chengiz Khān, the Mīrak Dabīr of Murtazā Nizam-s'āh I (1565-86 A.D.) at Ahmadnagar'. This Chengiz Khān had an army of one thousand slaves to which Malik Ambar also belonged. Later on, he seems to have changed his masters and was satisfied with what they provided him. All the same, he seems to have acquired or cherished ambition for rising to a high place in the society and the government. Unfortunately, precious little is known about his efforts in this direction. After the Moghul forces has scored successes over the ruler of Berar Daulātābād, Malik Ambar became a servant of Ibrāhīm Ādil-s'āh II, probably after the death of Chengiz Khān. The upright minister, Chengiz Khān was poisoned to death by his royal master whose mind had been prejudiced by conspirators. His position at that time did not even correspond to that of a second-

grade slave. The Nizāms'āhī kingdom was on the verge of decline at the time.²

In the following contemporary letter, Malik Ambar is alluded to as petty chief of Chaul and Dābhol early in 1596 A.D. with whom the Portuguese eagerly sought to bring about an alliance against the Moghul power.

From Philip II of Spain to the Viceroy Dom Francisco de Gama, Conde de Vidiguera, dated Lisbon, 25th of February, 1596:

"Matias de Albuquerque (the former viceroy) wrote me also that *his embassy to the Idalcao (Ādilkhān) (the king of Bijāpur) was intended to make an alliance with the Mellique (the petty chief of Chaul and Dābul) in order to be ready against the Moghul (emperor); and to attain better this object, he mentioned to him many reasons showing him the evident danger for these kings of ruining themselves altogether, should they not ally and strengthen themselves against the Moghuls; to this you must help also persuading all those kings one after another, a task that will become easier with the Mellique (Malik) at present, since peace has already being settled (with him), according to the news of Matias de Albuquerque that came by land.*"³

Malik Ambar seems to have acquired adequate power and influence towards the end of 1600 and early in 1601 A.D., to be apprehensive of his attack on Goa, as revealed in the following contemporary letter:

Philip III of Spain addressed to the Viceroy Ayres de Saldana, dated Lisbon 25 of January, 1601:

"And though the Conde (de Vidiguira) writes me that Akbar is already an old man, distrusting his eldest son and fearing to be poisoned by him and (on account of that) he had stopped the war he was waging against *the kingdom of Mellique (Malik)*, yet since that king is very powerful and sagacious and desirous of approaching to the island of Goa, I recommend you to keep your eyes open on his designs and designs to prevent them with the necessary remedies."⁴

Malik Amber had already come into limelight some months before the 25th January, 1601 A.D. in the Nizāms'āhī state, the

revival and maintenance of which he took upon himself and came to be reckoned as "the kingdom of Mellique (Malik)". King Philip III of Spain must have known about him at least two months before January, 1601 A.D. This is a pointer to the rapid rise of Malik Ambar to the position of influence and power after the fall of Ahmadnagar, which is further supported by the following letter:

King Philip of Spain to the Viceroy Ayres de Saldana, dated Valladolid, in Spain, 23rd March, 1604:

"The circumstances of the relations between Akbar and his eldest son, as related by you, are the most suitable for the welfare of that State; and since we know the purpose of that kind, I wish that the discord between them would last until his death for after his demise it is understood that war will ensue in all his kingdom. The precautions taken by the Mellique (Malik), to defend himself from him, as you told me, must be much appreciated, and I thank you for the pains you are taking to induce and incite him to do so."⁵

In brief, Malik Ambar was the governor of Kokan, from Chaul to Dābhol, and was so important that he could be called a petty chief. It may be borne in mind that the governor of Kokan could assume the status of a petty chief, where the Havāldār, Surūr Khān is said to have committed most atrocious deeds to affect adversely the cultivation of the region.⁶ This circumstance obtained due to remoteness and isolation of Kokan from the eastern part by the Western Ghāts, running between them. This geographical effect can be noticed in the history of Kokan beginning from the early times till the fall of the Marāthā Power in the first quarter of the 19th century. Naturally, it appears to be no matter of surprise, if Malik Ambar, a very strong-willed and intelligent administrator as he was, came to be recognised as a petty chief, though he was only a governor of Kokan in about the year, 1596 A.D. It may be surmised that he was an important officer under Abhangkhān in 1596-97 A.D. when he was entrusted by this leader with the delicate mission of finding out the inclination of leading men in the fort of Ahmadnagar. Prior to this, he might have been a petty leader of 150 men.⁷ Because of his distinguished rank, Malik Ambar could venture to enter the fort at the instance of Abhangkhān

in the face of a very strong guard in and outside. Few could have listened to him while he had been a petty leader. Moreover after the fall of Ahmadnagar, Murtazā Ali, son of S'āh Ali, was declared to be the sovereign, with Malik Ambar as the leader of the people. Without this cooperation and promise of help, he could not have been able to undertake the onerous responsibility and strenuous task of the revival and recognition of the Nizāms'āhī. Haibatkhān, Farhād, Khān, Mansūr Khān, and many such nobles cooperated with Malik Ambar most willingly, atleast in the initial stages of his determined task. It is recorded in the traditional history that Sābājī Anant recommended Malik Ambar for the exacting task of the Chief Minister of the Nizāms'āhī.⁸ Sābājī Anant is remembered in history as a very intelligent and influential person so much so that he became renowned as "Sābājī Anant Chatur" (the wise) in the Mahārās'tra of those times.⁹ Whatever be the truth in the story about Sābājī Anant, it is manifest from it that this intelligent and wise man had a hand in assisting Malik Ambar to be chosen as the the agent for the formidable mission of the revival and reorganisation of the Nizāms'āhī. This could be done when Malik Ambar must have displayed talents, merits and capabilities to occupy a high position, after having gained some administrative experience on previous occasions in the posts occupied by him. Malik Ambar completely identified himself with the popular ambition to retain and continue the independence of the Nizāms'āhī kingdom, which must have fruitfully and successfully contributed to the discharge of his duties.

Those who chose Malik Ambar as their leader were actuated by *patriotic* feelings and motives. Without the enthusiastic support of his adherents and the public, he would have courted a sad failure. It has been noted in history that Burhān Nizāms'āh II, on the occasion of his invasion on his son, Ismail and his minister, Jamālkhān, "represented that *should he accept the assistance of the Moghuls the Deccanis would be alarmed and object to his authority*; but that if his majesty would allow him to repair to the border of the country with his own dependents, he would try to gain over his subjects by conciliation."¹⁰ That very feeling was ventilated by Afzal Khān Chengiz Khān on the occasion of

negotiations for peace in March, 1596 with Prince Murād. He said, "It is however evident to you that *the people of this country have lived and live in enmity with foreigners.*"¹¹ Similar feelings have been expressed on other occasions by other men of power and position. So, it can be believed that those, who determined to revive the decadent state were prompted not by motive of self-aggrandisement but by *patriotic* feelings of loyalty.

In the attack on Ahmadnagar by the Moghuls, he was a follower of Abhangkhān and fought with valour. It will be worthwhile to give a brief account of the conditions of the Deccan that prevailed for a number of years before Ahmadnagar was lost to the Moghuls on the 18/19th August, 1600 A.D. (6th Shahriyar)¹², and experience so gained stood him in good stead and afforded opportunities to reveal his ability of loyalty.

II. Akbar's inauguration of the Deccan Conquest:

Burhān Nizāms'āh II was the seventh king in the Nizāms'āhī dynasty that commenced with Ahmad Nizāms'āh, the founder of Ahmadnagar. Burhān Nizāms'āh II died on the 26th April, 1595 A.D. (18th Sābān, 1003 A.H.). The Nizāms'āhī state had already suffered many reverses due to a variety of reasons and was set on the decline, the most important being its geographical position. It was sandwiched between the expanding Moghul empire under Akbar in the north and the Ādils'āhī kingdom with Ibrāhīm Ādils'āh II as its monarch in the south. Just before his death, Burhān Nizāms'āh II had suffered a severe defeat at the hands of the Ādils'āhī¹³. After completing the conquests of northern and central India, Akbar was free to turn his attention to subjugate the Deccan in 1595 A.D. which coincided with the death of Burhān Nizāms'āh II. He left behind him a crop of troubles, both internal and external, threatening and menacing to very existence of the Nizāms'āhī kingdom. The Nizāms'āhī dynasty had conquered Berar in 1572 A.D.,¹⁴ and terminated the Imāds'āhī dynasty. But this soon brought the kingdom into direct contact with the Moghuls and, therefore, created friction between the Nizāms'āhī and the expanding empire of Akbar.

An embassy was dispatched in August, 1591 A.D. to the

four kings of the Deccan. S'aikh Faizī was directed to go to Rājāh Alī and afterwards to proceed to Burhānūlmul. Other envoys were sent direct to Ahmadnagar, to Bijāpur and to Golcondā. Abul Faiz states that the object of the mission was a consultation to the willingness of the other powers to invade the territories of Burhān, but it is clearly to be inferred that a demand for recognition of the emperor's suzerainty was made. Firishtāh, in mentioning Faizī's return to Court, says that he brought word that the shāhs refused recognition, and Nizāmud-din says that Burhān did not send suitable tribute and, therefore the emperor determined on war.¹⁵

After the conquest of Gujrāt, Prince Murād had been appointed its Subhedār in 1593 A.D.¹⁶ He was instructed to attempt the conquest on Nizāms'āhī kingdom. Soon after, most probably in 1594 A.D. the Khānkhānān was sent to the south with forces for this purpose. On the death of Burhān Nizāms'āh II, his son, Ibrāhīm was seated on the throne, at his instance. The military reverses that his father had sustained a little before his death at the hands of the Ādils'āh touched him to the quick, and he therefore, desired to restore the prestige of the kingdom. He led an expedition into the Ādils'āhī territory, but, unfortunately, he himself was mortally wounded in the battle and consequently he died of the wounds.¹⁷

III. The Aftermaths of Burhān Nizāms'āh II's death:

His death was followed by intense civil strife in the kingdom. Already, in the Deccan, at almost every court there were factions, two of which were common. One party generally consisted of the Deccani Muslims, while the other party usually consisted of the foreign Muslims, Abyssinians, Iranians, Arabs etc. At the Nizāms'āhī court, at this time, the Deccanis, led by Manjū, the chief minister of the late king, formed one party, the Habs'is (*i.e.*, the Abyssinians) formed another strong party to which may be added the third party, led by Ikhlāshkhan. Chānd Bibi, the widow of the Alī Ādils'āh I of Bijāpur and the sister of the late Burhān Nizāms'āh II, had come to reside at Ahmadnagar and felt interested in the safety of the kingdom owing to her filial ties.

“After the martyrdom of Ibrāhīm Nizāms'āh¹⁸, Miyā

Manjū stepped aside from the path of obedience and faithful service and placed on the throne¹⁹ a young boy whom he named Ahmads'āh and sent the true prince, Bāhādur Nizāms'āh, a prisoner to Jond²⁰, which is one of the strongest forts of the *Dakan*; nor did he content himself with this, but posted a body of doorkeepers around the private pavilion of the chaste Chānd Bibī Śūltān a to prevent the access of the servants and personal slaves to her, and to prevent any one from approaching the pavilion. Nay more than this, he entertained the thought of overthrowing her altogether."²¹

In the mean while, Miyā Manjū Khān, having met with strong opposition and reverses, sent a message to Prince Murād, requesting him to come down to Ahmadnagar and to take the fort.²² At this juncture, Miyā Manjū Khān defeated Ikhāshkhān and his men near the Idgāh of Ahmadnagar and took Motī prisoner, and retired towards Daulātābād.

At the same time Ikhāshkhān sent a message to the governor of Daulātābād to release Abhangkhān, the Abyssinian, and Hubbush Khān Movullid who had been in close confinement ever since the reign of Burhān Nizāms'āh II. His order was immediately complied with, but not the order which he sent to Chāwand for the delivery of the prince, Bāhādur, into his hands, without the express orders of Miyā Manjū Khān.²³

At this juncture, Chānd Bibī appeared on the scene to exhibit her innate abilities. "Though she was a woman she had lion-like heart and was like Rustum in valour."²⁴ She won over the whole garrison of the fort and girded up her loins to drive off the Moghul forces.

In the meantime, in the first or second week of September, 1595 A D., Abhangkhān also hastened to Bijāpur for the purpose of securing possession of the person of some member of the royal family of Ahmadnagar who could be set up as heir to the kingdom. Here he found *Mirān S'āh Alī*²⁵, the son of the late Burhān Nizāms'āh I, who was living under the protection of Ibrāhīm Ādils'āh II, and *his son, who was then twenty years of age*, and took them, with a body of troops, into the Bīr district where, with a view to *composing* the affairs of that district and to conquer the rest of the kingdom, he assembled large

numbers of the army which lay scattered and dispersed throughout. Miyā Manjū from fear of the Moghul army also fled into the Bir district in October, 1595 A. D., taking Ahmad S'āh with him. As a consequence, Chānd Bībī Sultāna, whose endeavours were ever directed to what was best for the state and to the good administration of the kingdom, sent a trustworthy servant with her own sign manual to Mubrizuddīn Abhangkhān forbidding him to fight with Miyā Manjū and his followers, and ordering him at once to repair to Daulatābād and there to come to an agreement with her, and join forces with the rest of the African *amirs* and all who were still loyal and to drive out the Moghul army.²⁶

IV. *Burhān Nizāms'āh Proclaimed king:*

Chānd Bībī sultana, although had proclaimed *Bāhādur* Nizam-s'āh as king yet, as he was still in confinement at Chāwand, and Miyā Manjū, with the Present king (Ahmad S'āh) also in forces; on the Bijāpur frontier, thought it advisable to make overtures to Abhangkhān and S'āh Alī to join her in the fort.²⁷

In obedience to the queen's command Abhangkhān, with Mirān S'āh Alī and about 5000 horses, ready for battle, marched to Daulatābād, and when the news of the approach of Abhangkhan with Mirān S'āh Alī reached Ikhlaškhān, the rest of the African *amirs*; owing to their former disputes with Abhangkhān, would not accept Mirān S'āh Alī. Ikhlaškhān and his party took counsel among themselves, saying: "We have raised a king to the throne and elevated the royal umbrella over his head, and have drawn into our own hands the management and means of managing all the affairs of the kingdom. Now, for no reason whatever, to depose our king, and to acknowledge S'āh Alī, the protege of Abhangkhān, and to place ourselves under the orders of our enemy can lead to nothing but shame and repentance."²⁸ They therefore refused to join with Abhangkhān or to acknowledge Mirān Alī, and declined either to see them or to have any communication with them, but a force of about 500 of the best cavalry, s'iledārs and other brave men, deserted Ikhlaškhān and joined the army of Mirān S'āh Alī and Abhangkhān.²⁹

V. Encounters with the Moghuls :

When Mirān S'ah Ali and Abhangkhān had given up all hopes of coming to an agreement, Ikhāshkhān and the rest of African āmīrs, reported the whole matter to Chānd Bibi Sultānā and said that they were willing to bring their army to Ahmadnagar and do their utmost both to assist in defending the fort and in engaging the enemy in the field. The queen issued another order directing them to come, and they marched towards the city. When they approached the suburbs of the city, they sent a spy to enquire which entrance to the fort was unwatched and unguarded by the Moghuls. The spy returned and reported that the eastern side of the fortress, on which was a high road to Tīsgāon and the public highway, was unguarded by the Moghuls, and on the evening of Saturday, Rabi-us-sānī, 28 (Dec. 30, 1595 A.D.) Mirān S'āh Alī and Abhangkhān with their valiant army, entered the fort by the road which the spy had indicated.⁵⁰

“.....on that morning S'āh Murād had ridden round the fort in order to inspect the works and to apportion the posts to the corps of his army, and had assigned the eastern side where ran the Tīsgāon road and high road by which the army was to come to the Khānkhānān and that on the evening of the same day the Khānkhānān marched from the neighbourhood of Namāzgāh to the garden of the Ibādatkhānā, which stood in the road of the army of Mirān S'āh Alī and Mubariz-ud-dīn Abhangkhān, and there encamped with his army. On that dark night the whole of the Khānkhānān's corps, having no expectation of the arrival of the enemy, 'slept the sleep of negligence'; without having taken any of the ordinary precautions against surprise attack. When two watches of the night had passed, Mirān Alī S'āh and Mubariz-ud-dīn Abhangkhān marched up with their brave army; and became aware of the encampment of the Moghuls at the garden of the Ibādatkhānā. Finding the Moghul asleep and defenceless they fell upon them and began to slay them. When the Khānkhānān's negligent corps awakened confusedly from their sleep, they found that they were being attacked by a fierce enemy, that the way of escape was closed on every side, and that death was staring them in the

face; they found no course but to fight bravely was open to them, and they therefore prepared to resist their enemy and to gain a name as soldiers. Some fought at the door of their tents, and some leaving their own belongings, made for the tent of the Khānkhānān.

“The army of the Deccan, when they found tents empty of their owners, cast prudence and caution to the winds, and proceeded to plunder the enemies’ goods; but Mubariz-ud-dīn Abhangkhān, with a resolute body of men, made a stand near the pavilion of the Khānkhānān and there kept his flag flying for nearly two astrological hours, fighting manfully with the enemy.... The Khānkhānān, taking with him a body of expert archers, retired to the roof of the building in which he lodged and poured showers of arrows and shot a fire of musketry on Abhangkhān and his followers, until by degrees the number of those around the Khānkhānān grew ever greater, while the army of the Deccan melted away in search of plunder. When Abhangkhān saw that the enemy had grown strong and that there was no longer any hope of a successful attack on them, he retreated towards the fort taking with him the son of Mirān S’āh Alī, while S’āh Alī himself and the troops with him retreated by the road they had come, and were pursued by Daulat Khān, one of the *āmirs* of the Khānkhānān’s army, who captured and slew many of his men.”³¹

Abhangkhān, however, with the son of Mirān S’āh Alī, and a large force, contrived to reach the gate of the fort in the darkness of the night and increased the confidence and raised the spirits of the garrison a thousand fold. The chamberlains of the Court, by the orders of Chānd Bibi Sultānā led Abhangkhān and the son of Mirān S’āh Alī into the fort and into her presence, where his valour and great services became the theme of every tongue, and where he was recipient of much honour and of royal favour.³²

Ibrāhīm Ādils’āh of Bijāpur no sooner heard of this defeat, and of the great power of the Moghuls than he despatched Suhailkhān with twenty-five thousand horse to S’āhdurg, on his frontier, to await further orders there. Here he was immediately joined by Ikhilāshkhān, who had for the present laid aside every private consideration, in the hope, by forming a union,

of saving the government. This army was soon joined by Mehdi Kuli Sultān Turkman with six thousand Kutbs'āhi horse, sent expeditiously from Hyderābād.³³

From that moment Miyā Manjū and Ahmad S'āh left the fort and Chānd Bibī Sultana directed all the operations of the siege; and in the course of a few days she procured the assassination of Asar Khān (the Kotwāl of Ahmadnagar) and proclaimed Bāhādur S'āh, king of Ahmadnagar, taking the whole management of affairs into her own hands, assisted by Mohamad Khān, (October to December, 1595 A.D.)³⁴

VI. Dissensions among Moghul troops :

But it must be borne in mind that the affairs of the Moghul army did not run smoothly, as was expected by its leaders. The situation became difficult on account of the dissensions among the leaders of the Moghul army. Roads were closed and the scarcity of food was direly felt. Though ingenious and right-thinking persons represented that three great armies had assembled and that each should take upon itself one of the three tasks, namely, *firstly*, to take the fort; *Secondly*, the conquest of the country and *lastly*, the patrolling the roads but none of these was done.³⁵ All the same, the Moghuls continued their conquest. On the 29th December, 1595 A.D., they took Paithan on the Godāvārī River, and, as there was not much control of the leaders over their soldiers, "the inhabitants of Paithan were plundered to the uttermost, the high and the low were terrified by seeing the bad faith."³⁶ At Ahmadnagar itself, the siege went on in a lingering manner. In the mean time, Chānd Bibī tried to bring about peace, probably with a view to gain time for preparation and ending of dissensions among the ranks of the Nizāms'āhī leaders and giving a united front to the Moghuls.

Rafiuddīn, S'irāzī made his best efforts to win over the opponents in the fort to the side of Chānd Bibī and Bāhādur S'āh, and, for a time, it seemed that they had all accepted Bāhādur S'hāh as the king and Chānd Bibī as the chief counsellor. But, after all, the faction raised its ugly head, and civil strife began inside the fort also. Rafiuddīn again made an effort

to pacify them; but Chānd Bibī could not tolerate the arrogance of Abhangkhān, who, she said; was a purchased slave of her father and whom he had raised to a high position. She said that he was responsible for all the troubles, that she and others had suffered there. She rather invited the Moghul Prince to take the fort, but, for the second time, Rafiuddīn's attempts bore fruits and he brought Chānd Bibī round to accept the conciliation, to which all others, inside and outside the fort, had agreed. They, now, made up their minds to drive away the force of the Moghuls.³⁷ But Abhangkhān yet cherished ambitions and fostered ill-will towards Chānd Bibī and her supporters. He again tried to enlist supporters to his cause among the men in the fort by means of money. It was at this time that Malik Ambar served Abhangkhān who had instructed the former to go inside the fort and sound the attitude of the leaders there. But Chānd Bibī had already posted her men of confidence to drive away the opponents. Malik Ambar failed in his attempt to make an entry into the fort, and returned to his master. Realising all this, Rafiuddīn had to accept the failure of his efforts done for the fourteen months at reconciliation of the different factions of Ahmadnagar, and informed his master, the Ādils'āh, accordingly. Then, with his permission, he left the place for Bijāpur.³⁸

When Prince Murād heard that a large army, consisting of the Ādils'āhī, the Kutbs'āhī and the Nizāms'āhī *āmirs*, was approaching to the relief of Ahmadnagar, he hastened the work of laying mines underneath the walls of the fort in order to blow up a sufficient portion of it and storm it through the breach. The Khānkhānān was not probably inclined to give the prince the credit of capturing the fort.³⁹ Apparently at the instance of the Khānkhānān, or at least, with his connivance, Khwāzā Mohāmmad Khān S'irāzī, at great risk to himself "made good his way to the walls and informed of their danger. The garrison immediately commenced countermining, at the instance of Chānd Bibī, who herself showed the example; and by day light they had (searched) two mines, and were searching for the others, when the Prince Murād Mirzā, without communicating with Khānkhānān, ordered out the line and resolved to storm without him. The besieged were in the act of removing the powder from the third mine which was the largest, when the Prince

ordered them to be sprung. Many of the counterminers were killed, and several yards of the wall fell. Immediately as the breach was made, many of the principal officers of the besieged prepared for flight. Chānd Bībī, on the contrary, put on armour, and with a veil on her face, and naked sword in her hand, flew to defend the breach. This instance of intrepidity brought back the fugitives who now one and all joined her; and, as the Prince and the Moghul storming party were waiting for the springing of the other mines, time was afforded to the besieged, to throw rockets, powder, and other combustibles into the ditch, and to bring guns to bear upon the breach."⁴⁰

VII. The obstinate defence of Ahmādnagar Fort:

The Moghuls at length advanced to storm. An obstinate defence took place at the foot of the breach, where the assailants suffered severely from the heavy fire of the besieged. The ditch was nearly filled with dead carcasses, although several storming parties succeeded each other from four o'clock in the evening till nightfall, they were successfully repulsed. The feats of the valiant heroine, Chānd Bībī, who had been seen by all defending the breach, became the subject of universal admiration and conversation in enemies lines. From that day the Regent acquired the title of Chānd Sultānā. During the whole night she superintended in person the repairs of the breach, and by dawn of day it was built up to the height of seven or eight feet. On the following day she despatched letters to the allied armies, then at Bir, to hasten their approach, representing the dire distress of the garrison.⁴¹

S'āh Murād received a severe blow, as his objective had not been attained. This plunged him in thought and anxiety, and shed tears of disappointment. He took counsel with his *āmirs* regarding the reduction of the fort until the morning. At sunrise Murād again drew up his forces and advanced towards the breach. When he reached the ditch, he wished to press on to the attack of the fort at once, but a number of his *āmirs*, who were in attendance on him seized his reins and prevented him from entering the ditch or from engaging personally in fight.⁴² The Khānkhānān was asked to come for help, but he did not

turn up. At last, the Prince's brave soldiers made a fierce attack on the wall, but were equally bravely repulsed. "The garrison fought that day such a fight as had never been seen."⁴³ From dawn till dusk the battle raged, and when night fell, Murād, who saw nothing but shame in store for himself, retired with heavy heart, tears and sighs towards his camp.⁴⁴

This siege dragged on slowly, while the armies, sent by the Ādils'āh and the Kutbs'āh together with the Nizāms'āhī forces, advanced towards the relief of the fort. On approach of the combined forces of the Deccan, Murād and the rest of the *āmirs* of the Moghul army gave up the hope of capturing Ahmadnagar and it produced panic among the Moghul invaders and completely demoralised them, losing their self-control. A council of war was then held, at which it was unanimously agreed that some sort of armistice with the garrison should be made on account of remote chances of success and on this pretext retire and march to meet Suhail's army.⁴⁵

The garrison, likewise, was suffering from privations all the time for want of supplies and the besieged had lost their patience and showed signs of leaving the fort.⁴⁶

They were, however, aware of the difficulties and disappointments of the enemy and their desire to secure peace on face-saving terms. Therefore, the garrison desisted from supplication. At last, it was decided to send an ambassador to the Moghul camp for negotiating terms of peace. As the sincerity and purity of disposition and complete good faith of Umdāt-ul-mulk Afzal Khān, who was one of the pillars of the state and the famous man of the kingdom, and had received the appointment of ambassador, brought about an armistice, agreed upon by all. As a reward of his meritorious services rendered during the siege, he was appointed *Nāik* and *Pes'wā* of the kingdom and awarded the honourable title of Chengiz Khān.⁴⁷ Other envoys also were appointed as other high dignatories. The first attempt of the Moghul *āmirs* was to seduce Afzal-ul-Khāwan bin Chengiz Khān from his allegiance to allow the fort to fall into their hands. He was promised to receive a command of 5000 and any province of the Deccan, according to his choice and privilege of being consulted in all matters, provided he chose to desert the cause of his mistress.⁴⁸

VIII. Negotiations for truce:

The ambassador was, however, made of stern stuff. He pointed out that the fort could not be taken by the Moghuls. This was followed by tricky talks, threats and higgings. The ambassador told them that he would remain true to his salt. As regards the people, he affirmed, "It is moreover evident that the people of this country lived and live in enmity with foreigners."⁴⁹

Some days were spent in such discussions as the peace seemed to be far off when news of the approach of the army of the Deccan were repeatedly circulated through the Moghul camp.⁵⁰ The Moghul *amirs*, now, thought it high time to drop the fruitless discussion about Daulatābād and contented themselves with the province of Berar, on the basis of the cession of which peace was concluded. (23rd March, 1596)⁵¹

The allies arrived three days after the raising of the siege by the Moghuls and Miyā Manjū expected allegiance to be paid to Ahmad S'āh. To this, however, the nobles in the fort would by no means consent, and Abhangkhān, shutting the gate of the fort against him, sent a force to bring Bāhādur S'āh from his confinement in the fort of Chāwand.⁵²

The Queen Chānd Bībī, having succeeded in obtaining the person of Bāhādur Nizams'āh from his imprisonment in Chawand, he was publicly proclaimed king of Ahmadnagar, when she appointed her friend and adviser, Mohammad Khān, to the office of *Pes'wā*. (March/April, 1596 A.D.)⁵³

As Mirān S'āh Alī was in the hands of the Africans and all the Africans had wished to raise him to the throne. Now that the African *amirs* paid their respects to Chānd Bībī, he became alarmed and fled for safety to the Ādils'āhī army, where he remained under the protection of Suhail Khān. A body, which had been sent from the army of the Deccan in pursuit of Mirān S'āh Alī, failed to come up with him, but plundered his tents and camp equipage and all his property, and then returned.⁵⁴

One phase of Chānd Bībī's troubles and of danger of the fall of Ahmadnagar into the hands of the Moghul emperor was over. But so long as the Moghul emperor cast his longing eyes

upon the Deccan and so long as the Deccan was afflicted with internal strifes and struggles, caused by the cross-purposes of the leading nobles and the states of the Deccan, the danger to Ahmadnagar continued to exist.

Mohammad Khān, the new *Pes'wā*, in a short time after establishing his authority promoted his own adherents and relations to the chief offices of the state. It was unlikely, however, that those persons who had distinguished themselves in the war should tamely submit to degradation; he thought it politic, therefore, to seize and confine Abhangkhān and serkhān Abyssinians. On which the rest of the chiefs, apprehensive of fate, fled from the kingdom.⁵⁵

IX: The Ādils'āh's help sought:

While the Moghul troops were engaged in taking possession of Berar, Chānd Bībī realised that her authority was being dissolved. She, therefore, requested the Ādils'āh to send her help. He despatched Suhailkhān for this purpose with an army to Ahmadnagar with instructions to regulate his conduct agreeably to the wishes of the Queen Chānd Bībī.⁵⁶

In the beginning of the year, 1597 A.D. (1005 A.H.), Suhailkhān arrived and as Mohammad Khān opposed his entry, he invested the fort, the blockade of which continued for four months. Mohammad Khān, now, tried his hands at the same role which Miyā Manjū had played in the above-described troubles. Finding a strong party against him, he addressed letters to the Khānkhānān, the commander-in-chief of the Moghul forces then in Berar to join him, promising to hold the country for the emperor. The garrison, hearing of the desperate measures, seized Mohammad Khān and delivered him over to the queen. This step at once restored her authority; on which she instantly released Abhangkhān Abyssinian and appointed him *Pes'wā*; and having presented Suhailkhān with a robe of honour and gave him presents to return to Bijāpur.⁵⁷ While on his way back to Bijāpur, he learnt that the Moghuls had not only occupied the territory of Berar, but had laid violent hands on the town of Pāthari and other places which were not included in the cession of Berar. He accordingly halted, and, then with the

permission of the Ādils'āh, turned towards Berar in company of the Nizāms'āhī forces and encamped at Sonpet. The Moghul generals, Khānkhānān and others, collected their forces on the bank of the Godāvarī. The battle took place on the 26th January, 1597 (Jamadoosāny 18, A.H. 1005).⁵⁸ It was a fierce engagement, in which some important Moghul officers were killed. Suhaikhān made a desperate stand, but as the Nizāms'āhī and Kutbs'āhī forces took to heels, he also had to retreat to S'āhdurg. After this victory, the Khānkhānān despatched the part of his army to reduce the forts of Narnālā and Gāwilgarh in Berar, while he himself remained encamped at Jālnā.⁵⁹ Prince Murād desired to proceed to Ahmadnagar; but the Khānkhānān did not agree to his proposal. The Prince reported to Delhi against him who was, therefore, recalled by the emperor, and Abul Fāzī was sent in his place. (8th May, 1597, 27th Ardibihisht.)

Troubles, again, arose at Ahmadnagar. Abhangkhān, the new *Pes'wa*, gradually took to himself all the power and consequently, a scheme to seize Queen Chānd Bībī and to take upon himself the management of the orphan king and the government was hatched by Abhangkhān. At last, skirmishes started between the contestants. The Ādils'āh offered to mediate between them; but each of them would only be satisfied by the unqualified submission of his enemy. Abhangkhān showed some more daring in the rainy season. (August, 1598), and he ventured to send a detachment and retake the town of Bīr from the Moghuls. S'er Khwāzā, the governor of Bīr, marched about 20 kms to oppose the Nizāms'āhī army, but being wounded and his party being defeated, he with great difficulty reached Bīr. The Nizāms'āhīs invested the place. S'er Khwāzā represented to the emperor his situation. It took some time before Bīr could be relieved. It remained in the hands of the Moghuls after all.

X. Further encounters with the Moghuls

A little before this, Prince Murād died of intemperance on the 3rd May, 1598. Akbar sent Prince Daniyāl with the Khānkhānān and a large force immediately afterwards to the Deccan. In August, 1599 A.D. Akbar himself marched towards the south.

and sent to the Ādil s'ah his demand for tribute. To avoid the wrath of the emperor and destruction of his kingdom he agreed to the demands for tribute and the hand of his daughter for Prince Daniyāl. In the mean while, Khāndesh was conquered by the Moghul emperor in 1599 A.D. At this juncture, Chānd Bibī tried again to reconcile the imperialists and also the Nizams'āhī leaders. The most irreconcilable leader, Abhangkhān tried to cross sword with the Moghuls on his account, but the imperialists drove him away everywhere from pillar to post. At last, he took to supplications and flattery.

On the 15th June, 1600 A.D., Nās'ik was captured by the Moghuls. When Sāādat Khān submitted, Rājū, his servant, enticed his master's followers and seized his belongings and secured an upper hand in the country. On receipt of the news, Daniyāl sent 5000 men under Daulatkhān to punish him. Daulatkhān defeated him and drove him away; but, as soon as the army withdrew, having been called away for siege of Ahmadnagar, Rājū took back Nās'ik. Abhangkhān tried his fortune again, but failed to do anything effective, on account of dissensions among the Nizams'āhīs. At length, he lost heart and disbanded his soldiers in April, 1600.

The Moghuls continued to press and tighten up the siege. Chānd Bibī tried to escape with Bāhādur S'āh to Junnar in order to save the state, but was killed in July, 1600 by some men of the factious party. At this stage, none was left to defend Ahmadnagar heroically. It is no surprise that it fell in the hands of the Moghuls and Bāhādur S'āh was taken prisoner. (18th August, 1600)⁶⁰

CHRONOLOGY

| <i>Events.</i> | <i>Dates.</i> | <i>Authority/ Authorities.</i> |
|--|---------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. Murtazā Nizāms'āh I's reign. | 1565-86 A.D. | <i>B.F.</i> -III, 250-269. |
| 2. The conquest of Be- rar by Nizāms'āh | 1572 A.D. | <i>Ibid.</i> , 255. |

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| 3. | Ismail Nizāms'āh's reign | 1589 90 A.D. | <i>Ibid.</i> , 276-81. |
| 4. | Burhan Nizāms'āh II's reign. | 1590-95 A.D. | <i>Ibid.</i> , 282-87. |
| 5. | Burhan Nizāms'āh II died. | 26th April, 1594 A.D. | <i>Ibid.</i> , 287. |
| 6. | Ibrāhīm Nizāms'āh's reign. | 1594-95 A.D. | <i>Ibid.</i> , 288-91. |
| 7. | The reign of Ahmad Nizāms'āh II, the Usurper. | After April, 1595 A.D. | <i>Ibid.</i> , 292-304. |
| 8. | Bāhādur Nizāms'āh II's reign. | 1595-1600 A.D. | <i>Ibid.</i> , 305-313. |
| 9. | Miyā Manjū's flight to Bīr. | October, 1595 A.D. | <i>Ibid.</i> , 331-32. |
| 10. | The Moghul conquest of Paithan. | 29th December, 1595 A.D. | <i>B.M. (I.A., 1923,</i> <i>335-36.)</i> |
| 11. | Mirān S'āh Alī and Abhangkhān entered, into the Ahmadnagar fort. | 30th December, 1595 A.D. | <i>Ibid.</i> , 295. |
| 12. | Malik Ambar, petty chief of Chaul and Dābhol. | 1596 A.D. | <i>Monções de Reino,</i> <i>Ano de 1595 te</i> <i>1598, fol. 629.</i> |
| 13. | Arrival of Suhail Khān in the proximity of Ahmadnagar fort. | 1596 A.D., | <i>B.F.-III, 306.</i> |
| 14. | The Moghul treaty with the Nizām s'āhs. | 23rd March, 1596 A.D. | <i>B.F.-III, 303;</i> <i>E.D. VI.-92-4.</i> |
| 15. | The battle of Sonpet. | 26th January, 1597 A.D. | <i>B.F. III, 308.</i> |
| 16. | The battle of Āsh-tī. | February, 1597 A.D. | <i>A.G.M., 195.</i> |
| 17. | Abul-Fazl sent to the Deccan. | 8th March, 1597 A.D. | <i>E.D.-VI, 96.</i> |
| 18. | An attempt to recapture Bīr by the Nizāms'āhī army. | August, 1598. | <i>A.N., III, 1138.</i> |

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| 19. Prince Murād died of intemperance. | 3rd May, 1599 A.D. | <i>Ibid.</i> , 1126. |
| 20. Akbar marched towards the south. | Middle of 1599 A.D. | <i>A.G.M.</i> , 196. |
| 21. Abhangkhān disbanded his soldiers. | April, 1600 A.D. | <i>A.N.-III</i> , 1157. |
| 22. Malik Ambar seeks Service in Moghul court. | 1600 A.D. | <i>Waqat-i-Asad Beg (I.H.C., Hyderabad, 601-3)</i> |
| 23. Nāsik captured by the Moghuls. | 15th June, 1600 A.D. | <i>A.N.-III</i> , 1154. |
| 24. Chānd Bibi killed. | July, 1600 A.D. | <i>B.F.-III</i> , 312. |
| 25. The fall of Ahmednagar. | 18/19 August, 1600 A.D. | <i>A.N.-III</i> , 1159. |
| 26. Bāhādur Nizāms'āh taken prisoner. | <i>Ibid.</i> | <i>Ibid.</i> |
| 27. The Portuguese entered into treaty with Mirān S'āh. | After August, 1600 A.D. | <i>A.G.M.</i> , 202. |
| 28. Portuguese apprehension of attack on Goa by Malik Ambar. | 1601 A.D. | <i>Monques de Reino</i> , No. 8, Ano de 1601 to 1602, fol. 18. |
| 29. The Capitulation of Asīrgarh. | 17th January, 1601 A.D. | <i>A.G.M.</i> , 203. |
| 30. Malik Ambar's defence against the Moghuls. | 1604 A.D. | <i>Monques de Reino</i> , No. 9 Ano de 1604, fol. 22. |

References and notes :

1. *B.F.-III*, 257-60.
2. *F.A. (Q.B.L.S.M.-XX-2, S.C.V.S., IV)*.
3. *Monques de Reino*, No. 4, Ano de 1595 to 1598, fol. 629.
4. *Ibid.*, No. 8, Ano de 1601 to 1602, fol. 18.
5. *Ibid.*, No. 9, Ano de 1604, fol. 22.

6. S.C.S.-IX. (Q.B.I.S.M.-XXIV-4, Art. 24.)
7. F.A. (Q.B.I.S.M.-XX-2, S.C.V.S.-IV).
8. 91. Q B., 31.
9. *Shanmāsik Itivritta* (Six-monthly Proceedings of B.I.S.M. for Shaka, 1834, 1912 A.D.); B.S. mentions on p. 455, that Sābājī Anand (Anant) was a trustworthy man of Malik Ambar.
10. B.F.-III, 299.
11. B.M. (I.A., 1923, 345)
12. A.N.-III, 1159.
13. B.F.-III, 286.
14. *Ibid.*, 255.
15. E.A.-II, 312.
16. A.G.M., 291.
17. B.F.-III, 291.
18. *Ibid.*, beginning of August, 1595 A.D.
19. *Ibid.*, 293. 19th August, 1595, A.D. (10th *Zilliej*, 1003 A.H.)
20. This seems to be Chāwand according to the statement of Firishtāh (B.F.-III, 291) but Junnar according to B.S., 358.
21. B.M. (I.A., 1923, 295.)
22. *Ibid.*
23. B.F.-III, 296.
24. B.S., 334-55.
25. B.M. (I.A., 1923, 295.); B.S., 354-55. It is evident that from this and other references that the Ādils'āh had let off S'āh Alī and his son in 1595 A.D., soon after the death of Ibrāhīm Nizāms'āh and was mortally wounded, as related above, in a war with the Bijāpurians and who died soon thereafter in the beginning of August, 1595 A.D. Manifestly the release of Mirān S'āh Alī and his son was made with a view to foment troubles in the Nizāms'āhī kingdom so that the leading people of the kingdom might not again take up the sword against Bijapur. It is likely, however, as the Ādils'āh had been already aware of the intention of the Moghuls to besiege Ahmadnagar. He might have thought of raising troubles for them also. Thus, he might have killed two birds with one stone by letting off S'āh Alī and his son, soon after September, 1595 A.D.
26. B.M. (I.A., 1923, 331-32).
27. B.F.-III, 300.
28. B.M. (I.A., 1923, 332). In A.N. a very misleading account of the affair is given. It is said that, on December, 31, S'āh Alī and Abhangkhān led a night attack on the Khānkhānān's lines, but they were defeated and driven back into the city with heavy loss. The Khānkhānān was blamed for not capturing them. It was the city that they were trying to reach, and Abhangkhān attained his object. S'āh Alī did not enter the city, but fled. His son, Murtazā, afterwards Murtazā Nizāms'āh II entered, the city with Abhangkhān. Sayid Alī's statement about S'āh Alī does not, however, agree with the statement given a little hereafter.
29. *Ibid.*
30. *Ibid.*

31. *Ibid.*, 332-33.
32. *Ibid.*, 331-32.
33. *B.F.* III, 301.
34. *Ibid.*, 297-8.
35. *A.N.*-III, 1047.
36. *B.M.* (*I.A.*, 1923, 335-36). "In the meantime the spies of the Moghul army brought news to that army that Ikhlas Khān with the rest of the African *Āmirs* who had been in Daulatābād———— were marching towards Ahmadnagar. The Khānkhānān———— sent Daulatkhān Lodī the Afghān,———— with some 8000 horse———— to check the advance of Ikhlas Khān and the rest of the African *Āmirs*. The two armies met on the banks of the Godāvārī and the battle began in the evening.
 "When the Moghul army came into sight Ikhlas Khān and the rest of the African *Āmirs* sent their baggage back to Daulatābād and drew up their forces along the bank of river in a strong position; but as soon as the Moghul army arrived, their courage failed them and they broke and fled without even striking a blow for their manhood. The Moghuls pursued the fleeing army for a short distance and slew some of those whose flight was less expeditious. They then encamped in a village which the Africans had left, and halted there for the rest of the night. The next morning they marched thence to the town of Paithan, which was hard by. A number of foreign merchants and some of the poorest and feeblest of the inhabitants of the country, trusting to the general amnesty, had remained in the town, and the Moghul army, immediately on arriving in the town, began to plunder all the houses therein and violently despoiled those people of all the valuable stuffs, money and goods, even going so far as to strip both men and women of their clothes, leaving not a covering for woman, gentle or simple." (*B.M.*, *I.A.*, 1923, 335-336)
37. *B.F.*-III, 358-65.
38. *Ibid.*, 301-3.
39. *B.M.* (*I.A.*, 1923, 338-9) and translator's note on p. 339.
40. *Ibid.*
41. *B.F.*-III, 301-3.
42. *B.M.* (*I.A.*, 1923, 341).
43. *Ibid.*
44. *Ibid.*
45. *Ibid.*, 342.
46. *B.F.*-III, 303.
47. *B.M.*, (*I.A.*, 1923, 342)
48. *Ibid.*, 343.
49. *Ibid.*, 345.
50. *Ibid.*
51. *Ibid.*
52. *Ibid.*
53. *B.F.*-III, 304.
54. *B.M.* (*I.A.*, 1923, 346.)

55. *B.F.*-III, 306.
56. *Ibid.*
57. *Ibid.*, 303.
58. *Ibid.*, 308.
59. *Ibid.*, 309.
60. *A.N.*-III, 1159. "Bāhādur, the son of Ibrāhīm and grandson of Burhān —whom they had made Nizām mulk was captured. Valuable jewels, embroidered articles, a noble library and many other things and 25 elephants were obtained." (*Ibid.*)

The Reunification of the Nizāms'āhī Territory

I. *The Disturbed conditions in the Conquered Territories:*

Akbar's policy of striking at the trunk of the Nizāms'āhī Kingdom by his attack on its capital failed immediately to bear its desired result and did not bring about a full control over the country overrun by the imperialists. The independent spirit of the subjects of the Nizāms'āhī Kingdom remained buoyant to keep up their fight against the Moghul invasion and intrusion into their territory. Some Nizāms'āhī adventurers continued to prey upon the Moghul army, even after the fall of Ahmadnagar, by their predatory warfare. In the beginning, Saādāt Khān offered resistance to the Moghul arms, before his defection to the imperialists in September, 1600 A.D.¹, followed by similar tactics by Rāju, mostly in the region between Nās'ik and Daulatābād and Malik Ambar in Telanganā. This rendered the Moghul conquest of the Nizāms'āhī State far from being effective and made the consolidation and assimilation of the conquered territory next to impossible. The Moghul troops and Nizāms'āhī adventurers (called 'robbers' by the opponents) engaged themselves in mutual chase and counter chase till the imperialists were worn out with the continual warfare and felt fed up with their own dissensions.² It cannot escape one's attention that less spirited Nizāms'āhī nobles, out of sheer disgust, despair and disappointment, including Abhangkhān, courted the Moghul service. As by striking at the root of the Nizāms'āhī State, its branches did not fall off by themselves, the Khānkhānān seems to have insisted on the effective occupation of its outlying territories, rather than on pressing

the siege of Ahmadnagar,³ early in 1597 A.D. The vein of the narrative in the *Akbarnāmā* highlights the fact that even some of the imperialist nobles, due to unusual privations and hardships of constant military actions in the Deccan, were inclined to turn renegades.⁴

Nizāms'āhī people, at this stage of time, needed a leader of firm determination to guide them against their implacable enemy. Malik Ambar seized this opportune time to turn it to the advantage and profit.⁵ "The Nizāms'āhī officers, having declared Murtazā, the son of S'ah Alī, king, for some time, made Parendā the capital."⁶ It has already been stated earlier that in 1595 A.D. he was of twenty years of age. Though his father fled away, probably, to escape being made prisoner. Murtazā remained back and lived at Parendā. Malik Ambar was nominated the leader of the state administration. Thus, he rose from the position of a slave to that of the Chief Minister at the age of 52 years.

Malik Ambar and Rājū, either individually or in consort with each other, continued to offer opposition to the imperialists. Before investigating the details of their military and other activities, the territories in their possession may be examined.

II. *Territories in possession of Malik Ambar and Rājū:*

Malik Ambar and Miyā Rājū⁷ retained their sway on most of the Nizāms'āhī dominion. Malik Ambar occupied "the country from the Kutbs'āhī and Ādils'āhī boundaries, as far north as within one coss of Beer, and four of Ahmadnagar and from eight coss west of Dowultābād to within the same distance of the port of Choul"⁸ Miyā Rājū possessed "Dowultābād as far a north and south from Guzerāt frontier to within six coss of Ahmudnuggur."⁹ Even after the fall of the fort of Ahmadnagar, isolated pockets of resistance continued against the imperial forces. The Nizāms'āhī troops carried on their warfare with varying success under enterprising leaders.

III. *Miyā Rājū's life-sketch and activities :*

To have a clear and intelligent understanding of the politi-

cal conditions of the Nizāms'āhī Kingdom, it is essential to be conversant with the activities of the two prominent and leading personalities in the Nizāms'āhī Kingdom who kept the imperialists at bay, namely, Miyā Rājū and Malik Ambar. Miyā Rājū's life-sketch and his activities before his overthrow by his determined rival, Malik Ambar, are delineated in the sequel.

Rājū was the chief personal servant (khawās) of Saādat Khān who was at first a slave of the Nizāms'āh. Saādat Khān spent his time for five or six years through hills and inaccessible places about the period of the fall of Ahmadnagar into the hands of the Moghuls.⁹ He thus became the master of some forts and frequently used to bar the path of the Moghuls, and carry off their elephants and horses. In this way, he acquired a large equipment. The Moghul soldiers used to call Rājā Rājū by which he came to be recognised popularly. In about June, 1599 A.D., Saādat Khān thought of seeing the Khānkhānān. As Rājū was fully trusted by him, he entrusted all his belongings to him and went forward to visit the Khānkhānān. It appears that Saādat Khān defected to the Moghuls in September, 1600. In the meantime, Abhangkhān Habs'ī enticed Rājū with an offer of sardārship and wrote to him, "Fortune has made you a great man. Bring the country into your possession and become great. Saādat Khān was (only) a slave of the Nizāms'āh. As he has turned a traitor to the Nizāms'āhī Kingdom, and gone over to the Moghuls, you act bravely, because the reward of fidelity to salt is greatness. Guard carefully the territory and forts that are in your hands and to increase them."

Rājū acted on the suggestion made by Abhangkhān, and gathered a thousand troopers under him. From one side, Malik Ambar, and, from the other side, Rājū were engaged in devastating the territory of the Moghuls, often attacking them. Day by day, the troops and equipment of the two increased. For seven or eight years, they, thus, went on destroying the Moghuls.¹⁰ More detailed account of the activities of Rājū is embodied in the *Akbar-nama*, than that available in the *Futuhāt-i-Adilshāhī*.

It has already been mentioned that Rājū created commotion against the Moghul invaders, even after the fall of the fort of

Ahmadnagar. It appears that on the 5th October, 1600 A.D. Junnar was wrested by the Moghuls where Rājū had been operating against them. This place surrendered with little or no resistance against the invaders.¹¹ Thereafter, though Abul-Fazl had been commissioned to proceed to Nās'ik, he was kept back.¹² On the 10th April, 1601, the fort of Kālvāṇ fell into the hands of the Moghuls which is described as "one of the choicest forts of the district of Ahmadnagar," held formerly by Saādat Khān.¹³ The Moghul forces marched south-wards to Nās'ik over which they seem to have a feeble hold and captured it on the 7th May, 1601¹⁴. It may be recalled that this place was captured from the Bāglān chief in 1573 A.D. by Moghuls.¹⁵ However, Nās'ik exchanged hands between the Nizāms'āhīs and the imperialists several times. Before July, 1601 Nās'ik seems to have been held by Rājū. On Abul-Fazl's march from Hasanābād to Ahubārā Rājū was intent on creating commotion there but desisted from it. The town of Jālnā was re-peopled by Abul-Fazl from where he marched to Daulatābād. Rājū was pursued by Abul-Fazl and the former retreated to hills and settled near the tank of Kotūl where he was, again, chased. The chaser was restrained by others from continuing the chase. When the imperialists approached the foot of the pass near Kotūl, Rājū left Daulatābād and fled to Nās'ik,¹⁶ after resisting the Moghuls near Daulatābād by offering several fights with the help of the garrison of the fort.¹⁷ From Daulatābād Rājū approached in August, 1601 A.D. Satāṇā which was plundered by him, along with other proximate places.¹⁸ Abul-Fazl encamped at a place styled by him as Catwārā,¹⁹ where Rājū was defeated. However, he again, pounced on the Moghuls and suffered a reverse and took to flight. "His horse stumbled and he fell. Some well-wishers caught the horse; and with great difficulty he escaped."²⁰

For some days, Rājū spent his time in bewilderment under the protection of the fort of Daulatābād. Afterwards, he came with a large host but was put to flight after a short contest.²¹ Again, Rājū appeared near Daulatābād which seems to synchronise with the arrival of Malik Ambar from his march to the Barids'āhī territory. "Many fought and were defeated, and some returned without having come to close quartersRājū

and some others had gone off to plunder the camp. Now advance was made to Daulatābād by skirt of the hill, and I (Abul-Fazal) was obliged to go there..... Rājū craftily threw himself into the moat, but his goods and chattels were plundered..... That base one, after his punishment remained under the protection of the fort and spent his days in straightened circumstances. Numerous persons left him. He fell in fear."²²

With untiring activity, Rājū kept the Moghuls engaged in fight. About the 15th Feb., 1602 Abul-Fazl was sent to Nās'ik and was asked to chastise Rājū. Afterwards, Daniyāl himself proceeded against Rājū.²³

When Abul-Fazl joined the Khānkhānān at Pārner and soldiers were busy, the Abyssinian, named Farhād Khān carried out a night attack in December, 1601 A.D. on the Moghuls and fought hard but was repulsed.²⁴

After this, Rājū came into grips with Malik Ambar which resulted in the disappearance of the former from the scene of history for good.

IV. Malik Ambar's activities:

In the previous chapter, glimpses of the early life of Malik Ambar have been given. The thread of narration of his life needs to be continued to unfold how he offered stout resistance to the Moghuls to foil their attempts at striking their roots into the Nizāms'āhī territory. In 1596 A.D. he has been noticed by the Portuguese in India as 'the petty chief of Chaul and Dābhol', which was followed by his elevation to the office of the Chief Minister of Murtazā Nizāms'āh II on whom his choice had fallen as the sovereign of the Nizāms'āhī Kingdom, after the fall of Ahmadnagar into the hands of the imperialists in August, 1600 A.D. Early in the following year, he shot up so much into prominence and power that the Portuguese designated the Nizāms'āhī dominion as the 'Kingdom of Mellique'. The Portuguese were not only apprehensive of his intended attack on Goa but also sought alliance with him to ward off the Moghul incursions in the Deccan.²⁵

In May/June, 1600 A.D., Malik Ambar in conjunction with

Khwāzā Nāzīr and other Khāndesh enterprisers appeared near Chopādā in Khāndesh while, perhaps, he still continued as the governor of Kokaṇ.²⁶

On the 27th March, 1601 A.D. Malik Ambar defeated the Moghul commander, Bāhādur Khān Gilānī who was left with a small equipment in Telanganā. Ambar attacked with a large force of the Deccanis and Abyssinians. This made the Nizams'āhīs prosperous. It may be concluded that the balance of the action lay with the Nizāms'āhīs.²⁷ On the 14th April, 1601 A.D., Mardan Bāhādur was taken captive by the Nizāms'āhī troops. "He was the commander of Telanganā troops. When he heard of the defeat of Bāhādur Khān Gilānī, he went back to that quarter, and foolishly engaged without proper preparation. Most of his men fled. He stood firm and was captured."²⁸ At this juncture, Abul-Fazl wished to send M. Rustum to reconquer Telanganā. He declined to accept this assignment at 'the guidance of crooked-minded persons'. Abul Fazl's son was commissioned on this expedition.²⁹ The Khānkhānān was joined by S'er Khwāzā in the attempt to subjugate Telanganā. "The imperialists.....drew up in a battle array.....They crossed the Godāvery near Nānder and marched on. Near the River Mānjarā the enemy arrived with a large force. 'Ambar Jiu was in the centre.....On Sunday, the 16th May, 1601, after midday the fight began. There was a hot engagement.....The imperialists drew up their forces before the enemy did so. After much delay the latter came on with impetuosity which is characteristic of the country. Many gave way, and some baggage was plundered. They were somewhat astonished at the enemy's coming back to the attack several times after being repulsed and there occurred some confusion in order of battle. At this time the centre advanced and distinguished itself. The enemy 400 of them fell on the field, and many were wounded. Many elephants were captured.....No person of note was killed. Though the enemy was more than 5,000 and the imperialists were 3,000, such a difficult task was made easy by the help of Divine favour."

This victory of the imperialists was followed up by that of Rāi Chand on the 20th May, 1601 A.D. "When the soldiers went to Telanganā, some wicked Nizām-ul-mulkī went there to

Nizāms'āhīs and retention of 'some territory', on the 23rd December, 1601 A.D. It may be noted that the territory left to the Nizāms'āhīs is not clearly specified in the *Akbarnāmā*. Possibly, all the territory under their effective occupation was agreed upon to be left to them. However, it may be noted with interest that the Nizāms'āhīs did not give up their efforts to drive the Moghuls out of their territory. They, again, collected near the banks of the Manjirā River. The *Akbarnāmā* makes an allusion to the circumstances under which the imperialists were constrained to enter into a treaty with Malik Ambar in the following words:

"The death of M. Yusūf Khān and the disturbance of Rājū and Farquī (Bāhādur Khān, the young king of Khāndesh who had surrendered Asīr) youths increased their wishes. The administration of the country had seized the fief of one Qāsim..... whose father had fallen in good service. Owing to the pains of ill-success he joined Rājū."

Despite the treaty contracted with the Moghuls, the Nizāms'āhīs did not relax their efforts to regain their lost territories. After March, 1602 Murtazā Nizāms'āh II raised his head in disturbance against the imperialists. Immediately after his return from the Barīds'āhī territory, and fight against the Kutbs'āh, Malik Ambar went to Kaulās (Nubīlas in the text of the *Akbarnāmā*) and entered into the Telangaṇā territory.³³ As Mīr Martazā had not the strength to oppose him, he entered a fort,³⁴ and that encircled one parganā, took possession of some of the estates and sent a body of men to the other parganās of Berar. "The control of Berar, Pāthri and Telangaṇā, and extirpation of the son of S'āh Alī and Ambar Jeo were committed to the Khānkhānān."³⁵

Mīr Martazā could not hold out his own against Malik Ambar. Irīj joined Martazā and S'er Khwāzā and resolved to engage the enemy. On learning this, Ambar went to Otūr (Damtour in the text of the *Akbarnāmā*) and from there proceeded to Kandahār. In the mean while, the Abyssinian noble, Farhād joined Ambar with 2 or 3,000 horse. Ambar also drew up his forces. "First, the enemy's van drove off the elephants and attacked the imperial van, there was a hot fight. *From the*

smoke of guns and muskets day put on the dark robes of night. The brave imperialist discomfited the fore by their bullets and whizzing of their arrows. Then the centre made manful attacks... if the men of right and left wing had extended the arms of courage, the enemy would not have escaped, and 'Ambar and Farhād' would certainly have been made prisoners."³⁶ It may be surmised from the account embodied in the *Akbarnāmā* that it took nearly a year to inflict a decisive victory on the Nizāms'āhīs.³⁷

Fuzunī Astrābādī observes that at long last the Moghuls came to terms with Malik Ambar which were scrupulously observed by them.³⁸ However, Malik Ambar was resolutely determined to root out the imperialists from the Nizāms'āhī Kingdom to defend and protect its independence to the last breath of his life. He seems to have entered into a truce with the Moghuls for giving some respite to his tired soldiers and gaining time to reorganise his militia with a view to carry out his set objective with renewed vigour and zeal. However, Fuzunī Astrābādī's observation about accepting the vassalage of the Moghul emperor³⁹ is not confirmed by the *Akbarnāmā*, though the efforts of the imperial officers were definitely directed towards this objective⁴⁰ and possibly, the Nizāms'āhī protector was suspected of this move by his counterparts in the kingdom. This humiliating condition seems to have been dropped out in the treaty, signed by the contracting parties, *giving recognition to the independence and sovereign power of the Nizāms'āhī Kingdom.*

A little after this, the Moghul empire got embroiled into internal troubles. While on his way to the imperial court, on his recall by Akbar, Abul-Fazl was murdered on the 12th August, 1602 at Sarāi Bāzār, 16-20 kms from Narwar by Bīr Singh Bundelā, chieftain of Orchhā, at the instigation of prince Salīm. Prince Salīm raised a standard of rebellion against his royal father in the following year. The grandiose design of subjugating the Deccan Sultāns and annexing their kingdoms came to a halt till Jahāngīr renewed his efforts after his father's death and his enthronement and consolidation of his position in the empire. The untiring and tireless spirits of Malik Ambar did not allow him to let slip his opportunity to consolidate his position and power in the Nizāms'āhī Kingdom, while the Moghul empire was

involved in internal troubles of serious character.

V. Malik Ambar and Miyā Rājū:

Fuzunī Astrābādī observes that Miyā Rājū had patched up truce with Prince Daniyāl and established a *condominium* with the Moghuls over the territory under the former's control for sharing equally the total land revenue collection. Malik Ambar not only outwitted the Moghuls but excelled Rājū in his achievements and attainments by declining to accept even the semblance of their authority and had also inflicted admirable defeats on them, at times, in his engagements with them.

Miyā Rājū still remained an avowed and formidable rival to offer opposition to his rising power. Immediately, after his recovery from his wounds, suffered in the last campaign in Telangaṇā, Malik Ambar addressed himself to the task of mobilising his troops. "Khānkhānān, well aware of his enterprising character and popularity in the country", points out Firish-tāh, "feared the Moghuls might be eventually overpowered by numbers under so active a leader and made overtures for peace."⁴¹ As Malik Ambar was alive to the fact that Miyā Rājū was his avowed enemy, he accepted readily the offer of peace and the treaty concluded marked out their future boundaries. Most friendly attitude subsisted between the Khānkhānān and Malik Ambar. This friendship contributed, in years to come and when Akbar had passed away, to promote Malik Ambar's domination in almost independent position of the greater part of the Ahmadnagar territory for the Nizāms'āhī.⁴² However, the Khānkhānān played the two rival leaders of the Nizāms'āhī against each other to keep the Moghuls out of the path of harm, as far as possible. In league with the leading nobles the reigning king had been making several efforts to shake of the galling control of his premier. Towards the end of 1604 or early in 1605 A.D. Miyā Rājū fled with the king to Parendā and was opposed by Malik Ambar's soldiers. The two forces were encamped outside the walls of the fort and during the space of a month several skirmishes took place, in which Miyā Rājū maintained his own against Ambar. Ambar entered into correspondence with the Khānkhānān, begging of him to send assistance from Jālnā.

At the instance of the Khānkhānān, Mirzā Hussain Alī Beg, commander and governor of the district of Bīr, rushed immediately with three thousand cavalry to the rescue of Malik Ambar. This contingent attacked and defeated Miyā Rājū who bolted off to Daulatābād. Thus, Malik Ambar frustrated the endeavour of Miyā Rājū and Murtazā Nizāms'āh II.⁴³

After the death of Daniyāl, in April, 1604, the Khānkhānān retired from Jālnā to Burhānpur. This offered Malik Ambar a golden opportunity to march against Miyā Rājū but sustained defeat. His appeal for help fell on the unwilling ears of the Khānkhānān who marched to Daulatābād and prevented the two rival chiefs from attacking each other. Malik Ambar could judge that he had lost favour with the Khānkhānān. He thought it advisable to wait for a better opportunity and came to terms with Miyā Rājū. Thereafter, Ambar and the Khānkhānān retired to Parendā and Jālnā respectively.⁴⁴

In the year, 1607, Malik Ambar and Murtazā Nizāms'āh II were reconciled to each other. Both of them marched from Parendā to Junnar with ten thousand cavalry against Miyā Rājū. Rājū's army had lodged a complaint against him with the Nizāms'āh. Ambar readily made the most of the disunity prevalent among the followers of Rājū by means of gold, threats and baits to win them over to his side. The seat of government was transferred to Junnar. An army was sent against Rājū from Junnar to Daulatābād, where his power was completely overthrown.⁴⁵ While Rājū had sought an interview with the Nizāms'āh after securing his safe-conduct, he was put under custody by Ambar. His horses, elephants and other belongings were declared forfeited to the Nizāms'āhī State.⁴⁶ In this manner, Ambar got rid of his rival from the field of politics and the long-drawn struggle with him came to a successful end. Malik Ambar, after ousting his inveterate rival, emerged unrivalled and supreme among the nobles of the Nizāms'āhī State.

VI. Murtazā Nizāms'āh II and Malik Ambar:

Since his enthronement, Murtazā Nizāms'āh had been growing increasingly restive under the vigilant and close watch of his domineering and energetic Chief Minister. Towards the end

of the year, 1602 or early in 1603, the ruler was joined by a number of his chief nobles at Ausā against the self-willed Ambar, who proved more than a match by driving this faction of opponents under the walls of the fort. Ambar, accompanied by the king, marched to Parendā which held out against him for about a month, though Murtazā Nizāms'āh was permitted entry into the fort.⁴⁷ Towards the end of the year, 1604 or early in 1605 A.D., the reigning sovereign made a bitter complaint to Miyā Rājū about the harsh treatment of Malik Ambar. It has been already narrated how Malik Ambar foiled the combined effort of Rājū and Murtazā Nizāms'āh with the intercession of the Khānkhānān.⁴⁸ In the year, 1607 A.D., the recrudescence of Murtazā Nizāms'āh II's is intrigue to throw off the galling restraint of Malik Ambar occurred. The monarch rallied round him his followers to oppose the plans of Ambar. Out of sheer disgust Ambar thought of dethroning the ruler in favour of somewhat "less troublesome pageant." As this measure could not be countenanced by the Ādils'āh, he abandoned his intention.⁴⁹ It is needless to remark that the relations between Malik Ambar and Murtazā Nizāms'āh II were far from being cordial. However, in 1607 A.D., Ambar began to treat the monarch with more respect than that accorded to him in the past which cultivated mutual confidence between them. It has been already mentioned in the foregoing narrative that the monarch rendered his willing cooperation and assistance in the ultimate overthrow of Miyā Rājū.⁵⁰

VII. Rebellions against Malik Ambar:

Towards the end of 1602 or early in 1603 A.D. troubles were engineered against Ambar. Venkat Rāo Kolī, Farhād Khān Movullid and Malik Sundūl with others deserted Ambar and joined Murtazā Nizāms'āh at Ausā where they collected a large force. Ambar drove off this faction of rebels and dispersed them under the walls of the place. Venkat Rāo was made captive, but other officers took to their heels with the king into the fort and made terms on the following day. As Ambar fervently desired for long to take possession of Parendā, he accompanied the king to that fortress. The governor of the fort, who held the post for twenty years agreed to receive the king and recognise

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him as his liege lord. But, he refused admittance to Ambar as he had entered into a treaty with the Moghuls. Ambar tried to explain his position by telling that the late conspiracy against him had forced him to be on friendly terms with the Khān-khānān. All the same, he maintained that *he was a true and loyal servant of the Nizāms'āhī family and was ready to support it with his last breath*. All these arguments fell flat on the deaf ears of the governor. To prevent the king from joining with Mittun Khān, the governor of the fort made the king a state-prisoner. On learning of the incarceration of the king, Farhād Khān and Malik Sundūl flew hastily to Parendā and threw themselves into the fort, which was defended for upwards of a month against Ambar. Atrocities committed by the governor's son enraged the inhabitants against him and they rebelled and slew him. His father, the governor, was compelled to fly to Bijāpur in the company of Farhād Khān and Malik Sundūl. All these fugitives were enrolled in the Ādils'āhī service. The garrison could hold out for sometime more till at length Ambar, having removed all restraint from Murtazā Nizāms'āh II, permitted to introduce the king into the fort, while he lay encamped outside.⁵¹

VIII. Malik Ambar and the neighbouring Deccan States:

After the capture of Asīrgarh in January, 1601 A.D., Moghul ambassadors were sent to Bijāpur, Golcundā and Bīdar. Obviously, this was done to isolate Ambar from their support and cooperation against his efforts to defend and protect the Nizāms'āhī Kingdom. The Ādils'āh, the ruler of Bijāpur, first sent a valuable ruby and used supplications. The Kutbs'āh followed in the footsteps of the Ādils'āh in offering his submission to the Moghul emperor and Malik Barīd took to humble language. "All their desire was that some persons might be appointed from the (Moghul) court to soothe their minds. Though during the disturbance caused by the death of the Prince (Murād), the battle of Bīr, and the investment of Ahmadnagar, the Nizām-mulkī people asked them for help, they did not cast away the thread of loyalty and paid no attention to their request, though many of the imperial servants sought a cause for returning of the august standards."⁵² From the ambiguous language in which the writing of Abul-Fazl is couched one can gather an impres-

sion that the Deccan Sultāns at least outwardly remained loyal to the imperial designs, but the clandestinely, yet in a half-hearted manner, rendered support and assistance to the Nizāms'āhī ruler and the premier, with their suppressed sympathy with them in their own interests. However, it will be revealed that Malik Ambar had no alternative for the time being, but to bide his time to look forward for an opportunity for making an efforts to impose his will by force to wean them away their leanings towards the imperialists.

This opportune time occurred in early, 1602 A.D., probably in the month of January of the year, when Ambar had proceeded to the Barids'āhī territory, almost immediately after signing the peace with the Moghul emperor. Ambar proceeded against the Barids'āh first, as he was the feeblest among the Deccan Sultāns to be tackled. Malik Barid sent Ibrāhīm to resist Ambar, but in the battle fought against the Nizāms'āhī premier, he fell bravely. Fourteen elephants and other materials fell into the hands of Ambar which added to his glorious achievements. From there Ambar marched triumphantly to Kaulās and engaged the Kutb-s'āh's troops and inflicted defeat on them with the capture of their twenty-nine elephants. This was followed by his march into Telangaṇā where the Moghul officers yielded immediately and took possession of the territory and sent a body of men to other parganās of Berar. Malik Barid saved the existence of his state by contracting a treaty with Ambar on payment of a sum of money and agreeing to peace with the latter.⁵³ On the approach of Irīz, Ambar went to Antūr and from there to Kandahār, which were occupied by the Ādils'āh during the period the Nizām'sāhī dominion was engrossed in its life and death struggle against the Moghuls. Ambar seems to have made an unsuccessful effort to regain these two places, on account of the Moghul support to the Ādils'āh.⁵⁴ Malik Ambar seems to have spared none of his neighbouring Deccan states, due to their insincerity towards the Nizāms'āhī kingdom. This, however, served to raise his prestige and respect much higher and created a terror in their minds and hearts.

After Mir Jamāl-ud din Anjū's return from the Bijāpur court, Āsad Beg, in about 1604 A.D., Akbar deputed Āsad Beg on a mission to the Deccan. The account of his mission may be

described in the words of Āsad Beg as follows:

"At last orders were passed, that royal *farmāns* should be addressed to the governors of the Dakhin, namely, Bijāpur, Golcondā, Bidar and the Carnātic. His Majesty said to me, "You went before, in great discomfort, to fetch Mir Jamālud dīn and the daughter of Ādil Khān and the presents, because it was necessary. But this time you must go in state to the four provinces of the Dakhin, and remain in each place so long as may be necessary, to collect whatever they have of fine elephants and rare jewels throughout their dominions, to bring back with you. Their money you may keep. I want nothing but their choice and rare elephants and jewels. You must secure things of this kind for the Government, the rest I give you. You must not relax you efforts as long as there is one fine elephant or rare jewel out of your grasp in the Dakhin.....But nearly two months passed from the time of my first appointment before I received my dismissal."⁵⁵ This excerpt has been cited here to bring out its implications; *firstly*, the Nizāms'āhī dominion was considered to be part and parcel of the Moghul empire, *secondly*, it was taken for granted that the Deccan rulers meekly submitted to the authority of the Moghul emperor, *thirdly* the emperor desired to strip these rulers of their military power and also their wealth without striking a blow against them and *lastly*, the mission was intended to test the degree of their fidelity and loyalty to the Moghul empire. Evidently, this grandiose and ambitious plan completely frizzled out.

VIII. Āsad Beg and Malik Ambar:

In order to restrain Prince Daniyāl from his gross intemperance, his marriage was arranged with Ibrāhim Ādils'āh's daughter. This matrimony was intended to cement the alliance between the two royal dynasties. Mir Jamāluddīn Anjū had been deputed on the 9th Feb., 1601 to the Ādils'āhī court to conclude a treaty with the ruler, and to bring his daughter, Begum Sultān,⁵⁶ whose hand had been promised in marriage to Daniyāl. Akbar was keen on settling the Bijāpuri affair to his entire satisfaction, promptly. The betrothal took place at Ahmadnagar where the princess came with a splendid retinue in which F'rish-tāh..... the historian was also included.⁵⁷

As Mīr Jamālud dīn Anjū had been detained unduly long at Bijāpurī court, Āsad Beg had been commanded to proceed on the mission, after the death of Abul-Fazl, to fetch Daniyāl's espouse. "A very gracious *farmān* was written with all possible courtesy to Ādil Khān of Bijāpur. Its contents were as follows: 'We find by the despatches of the Saiyid that you desire the town of Gwālior.⁵⁸ Very good. If you are really anxious about the matter, open your mind to the faithful servant Āsad, and we will issue orders according to your wish and bestow it upon you for ever, so that you may appoint your own governor there.'⁵⁹ On some pretext, the Ādils'āh had been putting off the matter. To secure against a possible failure of Āsad Beg's mission, all necessary precautions were taken. *Farmāns* were issued to the officers in the Deccan directing them to render all possible facilities to Āsad Beg. Besides this, at the personal request of the envoy, the emperor was pleased to grant a *farmān* to Malik Ambar. Its contents are not recorded by Āsad Beg. However, it proved to be helpful in his delicate mission of grave political importance. Perhaps, it was purported to secure the friendly attitude of the Deccani adventurer and to bring home to his mind the status of the accredited envoy. This fact connotes that Malik Ambar had attained considerable importance and influence in the Deccan affairs.⁶⁰ Prior to the departure of the Moghul envoy from Burhānpur, the Khānkhāuān made a personal request to him to clear away the misunderstanding between Hasan Alī Beg, the governor of Bīr and Malik Ambar which had caused strained relations between them. Āsad Beg accorded his assent to it. He informed Hasan Alī Beg about the proposal of the Khānkhānān and proceeded to Bālāghāt on his journey.

Next day, a grand reception worthy of the occasion and befitting the position of envoy was arranged. "All the *āmirs*, members of the government, men of letters, religious leaders, and saints formed an assemblage even one tenth of which was to be rarely seen at one place in India. Religious discourses and recitals from the *Qorān* were held on a scale only to be witnessed in the holy town of Mashad. Verily it was sheer good luck (to be there) and a heavenly joy." "Between the two prayers a magnificent dinner party was held, which in the Deccani dialect is called 'Kandurī.' A large tent was pitched in an open

space, and round it were *Shāmīyānās* decorated with the figures of fish woven into the covering. In every corner were placed brass and silver vessels, one on the top of the other to height of a man, each filled with dainty eatables. Every item of food was tastily cooked, sprinkled with a profusion of spices. There were numerous varieties of delicious puddings, sweets, cakes, unleavened bread, all beyond praise, description or exaggeration.⁶¹

The dinner being over, Āsad Beg revealed to Malik Ambar the task which had been entrusted to him by the Khānkhānān. Ambar agreed readily to oblige him and a meeting with Hasan Ali Beg was arranged. After formal reception, "the two retired into the privacy and laid bare their inmost thoughts in an open-hearted talk to clear the existing misunderstanding. Hasan Ali Beg presented an elephant and a horse to Ambar, and both of them parted company with each other as friends."⁶² This event is illustrative of Malik Ambar's attitude towards the Moghuls. Till now there were no feelings of bitterness between the two parties, and Ambar was eager to keep friendly relations with the Moghuls. He was intent upon carrying on his work in a pacific manner; and the Khānkhānān avoided open hostilities as far as possible, since he was fully conversant with the difficulties of the Moghul position in the Deccan.

Thereafter, the Moghul envoy took leave. He was escorted to the Ādils'āhī frontiers by Malik Ambar's brother. On accomplishing the task of the mission, Āsad Beg started on his return journey. On his arrival at Mangalbir he encountered unforeseen difficulty. Mīr Jamāluddīn was blowing hot and cold in the same breath. On crossing the river (Bhīmā), the Bijāpurians refused to proceed further. The alarm of Malik Ambar's raid seized the Bijāpurians and they began to retrace their steps home with Daniyāl's spouse. In the hour of difficulty, Āsad Beg did not lose his heart. He commanded his men not to worry, as he had implicit faith in Ambar's friendly attitude. In the mean while, Khwajgī Inayetullāh *Kitātdār*, who was also sent as an ambassador to the Bijāpuri court, arrived there. He brought the news of reinforcements approaching under Mirzā Iriz and others. This damped the spirit of the mischief mongers. The *nalanquin* of Daniyāl's bride was safely escorted with brilliant splendour.⁶³

The betrothal for this marriage had been made five years back. But the performance of marriage was put off due to a variety of reasons. Count Noer is of the opinion that the marriage was performed much against the princess's inclination.⁶¹ The marriage had been celebrated at Paithan,⁶⁵ on the bank of the Godāvāri, after which the prince came to Burhānpur. "Neither marriage nor business of State was able to keep the prince from the delights of the wine cups"⁶⁶ and after a few months, he died in April, 1604 A. D. at Burhānpur.

X. The Expansion of the Nizāms'āhī Kingdom:

The history of the Deccan unfolds that the tract between the Sīnā and the Nirā rivers, more particularly the Bhimā-Nirā Doāb, remained a bone of contention between the Ādils'āhī and the Nizāms'āhī rulers for long. It was one of the cockpits of the Deccan where several engagements took place between rival kings. Places situated in this region exchanged hands between the Ādils'āh and the Nizāms'āh frequently.

Malik Ambar availed of the friendly attitude of the Khān-khānān to effect recovery of some of the lost territory of the Nizāms'āh. He turned it to his advantage and expanded the bounds of the Nizāms'āhī dominion by the capture of the following places and tracts:

1. Before the month of May, 1604 A.D., the township of Otūr in Poonā parganā was taken. (*S.L.*, Art. 4, 9).
2. Before July, 1605, the parganā of Guls'anābād (Nās'ik) fell into the hands of Ambar. (*S.C.S.-II*, Art. 287, 285).
3. Before October of the same year, the parganā of Pāndepēgāon was captured. (*S L*, Art. 5, 10).
4. In the same year, the parganā of Sangamner was occupied by Ambar (*S.C S.-VII*, Art. 5,4). The month of its occupation cannot be ascertained with precision.
5. The capture of Junnar made by Ambar before July, 1607 A.D. (*Proceedings of sixth conference of B.M. 95I.S.*).

As Sangamner is situated to the south of Nās'ik, Ambar

must have passed through the former first. The attack on Nās'ik must have been preceded by that on Sangamner. This conclusion indicates that the capture of Sangamner must have occurred sometime before July, 1605 A.D. and after the capture of Otūr which took place before May, 1604, A.D.⁶⁷ In other words, it may be surmised that Sangamner was taken towards the end of 1604 or early in 1605 A.D.

At this stage of conquests and annexations, Ambar seems to be actuated with the spirit of weakening his determined rival in the political field, namely, Miyā Rājū, with a view to oust him outright. The wresting of Nās'ik and Sangamner from Miyā Rājū must have reduced his power and authority to a low level. Supported by the goodwill of the Khānkhānān, he deprived also the Ādils'āh of Otūr and Pāndepedgāon.

It has already been mentioned that with the willing support and cooperation of his royal master, Ambar succeeded in ousting Miyā Rājū from the field of politics for all times to come in the year, 1607 A.D. Perhaps, with the growing power and influence, Ambar could impress his royal master with his abilities to win over the latter to his side. This left no formidable rival against Ambar and gave him a free hand to effect the recovery of the lost territory of the Nizāms'āhī State by means of conquests or persuasion to strengthen its power and prestige. As can be seen in the next chapter, emboldened by these efforts, Malik Ambar made a daring attempt at the recovery of the fort of Ahmadnagar, in 1609 A.D., after the capture of tiny chunks of the territory lost to the Moghuls and reorganising the administration of the occupied territory.

Only after bringing about the reunification of the Nizāms'āhī territory, shared by Ambar with Miyā Rājū, any bold and serious efforts could be directed for the recovery of the lost territory of the kingdom. Under section II of this chapter, it has been stated that the Nizāms'āhī territory was within eight coss of the port of Chaul, on the basis of F'ishtāh⁶⁸. It cannot be known whether the part of the western littoral in the Nizāms'āhī possession was lost from the kingdom and at what time and to whom. It has been already mentioned earlier that Malik Ambar was the governor of the tract from Chaul to Dābhol in 1596 A.D. Most probably, this tract was lost to the Moghuls in about

1600 A.D. and its recovery was effected before 1607 A.D. Certainly, immediately before 1600 A.D., the Nizāms'āhī kingdom was not a land-locked State.

CHRONOLOGY

| Events | Dates | Authority/Authorities. |
|---|---------------------------|--|
| 1. Nizāms'āhī adventurers reached Mehkar. | 24th March, 1596 A.D. | <i>A.N.</i> -III, 1050 |
| 2. Nizāms'āhī adventurers attacked Moghuls near Mehkar. | March, 1596 A.D. | <i>Ibid</i> , 1052. |
| 3. The battle of Āshtī. | 27th January, 1597 A.D. | <i>Ibid</i> , 1070. |
| 4. The Capture of Melghāt. | 20th December, 1597. A.D. | <i>Ibid.</i> , 1114. |
| 5. Junnar captured by Moghuls | 16th January, 1600 A.D. | <i>Ibid.</i> , 1169. |
| 6. Murtazā Nizāms'āh II, son of S'āh Ali raised to the throne | After August, 1600 A.D. | <i>Ibid.</i> , 1174-75; <i>T.A.</i> -III, 184. |
| 7. Ambar raided Coprah (Chopadā) | May/June, 1600 A.D. | <i>A.N.</i> -III, 1153. |
| 8. Nās'ik captured by Moghuls | 15th June, 1600 A.D. | <i>Ibid</i> , 1184-85. |
| 9. Saādat Khān, defected to Moghuls. | September, 1600 A.D. | <i>Ibid.</i> , 1161. |
| 10. Rājū's capture of Saādat Khān's elephants, etc. | <i>Ibid</i> | <i>Ibid</i> , 1154. |
| 11. Rājū's flight from Moghul attack | 1600 A.D. | <i>Ibid.</i> , |
| 12. Mīr Jamālu-ddīn Husain Anju sent to Bijāpur. | 7/8 March, 1601 A.D. | <i>Ibid</i> , 1176. |

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| 13. The fall of Asirgarh. | 10th March, 1601 A.D. | <i>Ibid.</i> , 1177-78. |
| 14. Ambassadors sent to Bijāpur, Golcondā and Bīdar by Akbar. | After March, 1601 A.D. | <i>Ibid.</i> , 1171. |
| 15. Abul-Fazl started against S'āh Ali's son. | April, 1601 A.D. | <i>Ibid.</i> , 1174-75. |
| 16. Moghuls defeated in Telanganā by Ambar. | 27th March, 1601 A.D. | <i>Ibid.</i> , 1177-78. |
| 17. Khānkhānān's march to Ahmadnagar. | After Murtazā Nizāms'āh's enthronement. | <i>Ibid.</i> , 1177-78. |
| 18. Kālvaṇ taken by Khānkhānān. | 10th April, 1601 A.D. | <i>Ibid.</i> , 1180-81. |
| 19. Mardan Bāhādur taken captive by Ambar. | 14th April, 1601 AD. | <i>Ibid.</i> |
| 20. Fort of Trimbak captured by Moghuls. | 7th May, 1601. | <i>Ibid.</i> , 1185. |
| 21. Moghuls crossed the Godāvāri near Nānder. | 16th May, 1601 A.D. | <i>Ibid.</i> , 1186. |
| 22. The defeat of Telanganā opponents, | 1601 A.D. | <i>Ibid.</i> , 1187. |
| 23. Rāi Chand won a victory in Telanganā. | 20th May, 1601 A.D. | <i>Ibid.</i> , 1186. |
| 24. Murtazā Nizāms'āh II submits to Moghuls. | After May, 1601 A.D. | <i>Ibid.</i> , 1187. |
| 25. Treaty with Murtazā Nizāms'āh II and Moghuls. | Beginning of June, 1601 A.D. | <i>Ibid.</i> , 1188. |
| 26. Rājū's capture of Nās'ik and proximity. | 1601 A.D. | <i>Ibid.</i> , 1192. |
| 27. Abul-Fazl's arrival at Daulatābād. | 30th July, 1601 A.D. | <i>Ibid.</i> , 1195. |
| 28. Rājū's retreat to Kotūl. | August, 1601 A.D. | <i>Ibid.</i> , 1190. |

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| 29. Rājū's march towards Nās'ik. | August, 1601 A.D. (?) | <i>Ibid.</i> , 1192. |
| 30. Rājū's plunder near Satāṇā. | August, 1601 A.D. | <i>Ibid.</i> , 1192. |
| 31. Rājū defeated by Moghuls near Satāṇā | <i>Ibid.</i> | <i>Ibid.</i> |
| 32. Rājū chased to Daulatābād. | <i>Ibid.</i> | <i>Ibid.</i> |
| 33. Moghuls defeated on the bank of Mānjarā with loss of Telangaṇā. | August, 1601 A.D. | <i>Ibid.</i> |
| 34. Rājū defeated by Moghuls. | <i>Ibid.</i> | <i>Ibid.</i> , 1194. |
| 35. Ambar's attack on Barīds'āhī territory. | September, 1601 A.D. | <i>Ibid.</i> |
| 36. Rājū pursued to Daulatābād. | <i>Ibid.</i> | <i>Ibid.</i> |
| 37. Ambar's recapture of Telangaṇā. | October, 1601 A.D. | <i>Ibid.</i> , 1195. |
| 38. Ambar's fight against Moghuls at Babulgāon. | <i>Ibid.</i> | <i>Ibid.</i> |
| 39. Āmbejogāi taken by Moghuls, | 3rd November, 1601 A.D. | <i>Ibid.</i> , 1197. |
| 40. Rājū's failure to take Pārner. | December, 1601 | <i>Ibid.</i> |
| 41. Moghuls defeated the opponents at Pārner | <i>Ibid.</i> | <i>Ibid.</i> |
| 42. Ambar's truce with Moghuls | 23rd December, 1601 A.D. | <i>Ibid.</i> , 1198-99 |
| 43. Abul-Fazl's march towards Nās'ik. | 15th March, 1602 A.D. | <i>Ibid.</i> , 1201. |
| 44. Ambar's march against Bīdar. | March, 1602 A.D. | <i>Ibid.</i> , 1209. |
| 45. Ambar's march to Kaulās. | <i>Ibid.</i> | <i>Ibid.</i> |
| 46. Ambar's march into Telangaṇā. | <i>Ibid.</i> | <i>Ibid.</i> , 1212. |
| 47. Malik Barīd's treaty with Ambar. | After March, 1602 A.D. | <i>Ibid.</i> , 1209. |

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| 48. Ambar's march to Antūr (?) and Kanda-hār. | March, 1602 A.D. | <i>Ibid.</i> , 1212 |
| 49. Abul-Fazl killed by Bir Singh Deo of Orchhā. | 12th August, 1602 A.D. | <i>E.D.</i> -VI, 154. |
| 50. Ambar's capture of Otūr. | Before May, 1604 A.D. | <i>S.L.</i> -Art. 4, 9. |
| 51. Prince Daniyāl's marriage with Bijāpur Princess. | 20th June, 1604 A.D. | <i>A.N.</i> -III, 1253. |
| 52. Ambar's capture of Sangamner. | 1604/1605 A.D. | <i>S.C.S.</i> -VII, Art. 5,4. |
| 53. Ambar's capture of Nās'ik. | Before July, 1605 A.D. | <i>S.C.S.</i> -II, Art. |
| 54. Ambar's capture of parganā of Pāndeped-gāon. | Before October, 1605. | <i>S.L.</i> -Art. 5, 10. |
| 55. Akbar's death. | 17th October, 1605 A.D. | <i>E.D.</i> -VI, 115. |
| 56. Ambar's capture of Junnar. | Before July, 1607 A.D. | <i>Proceedings of sixth conference of B.I.S.M.</i> |
| 57. Ambar's capture of Daulatābād from Rājū. | 1607 A.D. | <i>B.F.</i> -III, 320. |

References and notes :

1. *A.N.*-III, 1161.
2. *Ibid.*, 1188.
3. *Ibid.*, 1070-72. "After this (battle of Āshtī Jari, 1597 A.D.) Murād and his guardian, Sādiq wanted the Khānkhānān to proceed against Ahmadnagar. He objected on the ground that it was necessary to take other foris." The Khānkhānān's viewpoint was hardly appreciated and misrepresented to the emperor which resulted in the recall of the commander.
4. *Ibid.*, 1138.

5. Malik died at 80 years of his age in May 1626 A.D. He seems to have been born in 1548 A.D. It may be 'surmised that he was 52 years in his age at this time.
6. *B.F.*-III, 313.
7. In *H.M.*, the author assumes that the person was Hindū (I, 93) but there appears to be no authority for holding this opinion.
8. *B.F.*-III, 314-5.
- 8a. *Ibid.*
9. This can be at best the total time of his attempt at securing power and position and not the number of years of roving before becoming powerful.
10. *F.A. (Q.B.I.S.M.-XX-2, S.C.V.S.-IV, 3-4)*
Here again there is an overstatement. After the fall of Ahmadnagar into the hands of the Moghuls, Rājū could not have acted in this way for more than four years, in any case. Probably, this time might have been only two years. Rājū did this even before the fall of Ahmadnagar. Hence, Fuzūnī Astrābādī misunderstood the whole matter and mis-related it in his work. The total period of Miyā Rājū's roving fight, or rather, guerilla warfare, with the Moghuls was about seven years from the time confusion followed the death of Ibrāhīm Nizāms'āh.
11. *A.N.*-III, 1169. The author of the work states that 'the fort is called Bir' which is highly improbable, as there is a distinct place known by that name.
12. *Ibid.*, 1180.
13. *Ibid.*, 1181. The author mentions the name of the place as *Galnā* which has been identified by S. H. Hodivālā with Kālva (S.I.M.H., 582.) The correct name appears to be *Kālvan* on the Girnā River which is more than 40 kms, west of Mālegāon in the Nās'ik District.
14. *Ibid.*, 1184-85.
15. *Ibid.*, 41.
16. *Ibid.*, 1189. The author mentions "the tank of Qatlu" which may be identified with *Kotūl* which is n.w of Ahmadnagar and due north of Junnar, close to the left bank of the Ghod river.
17. *Ibid.*, 1192.
18. *Ibid.*
19. *Ibid.*, Catwārā may be Kālvan on the Girnā river, s.w. of Satānā.
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid.*
22. *Ibid.*, 1193.
23. *Ibid.*, 1201.
24. *Ibid.*, 1197.
25. Ch. 1.
26. *A.N.*-III, 1153.
27. *Ibid.*, 1177-78. The author has not expressed in clear terms who was triumphant.
28. *Ibid.*, 1180-81.
29. *Ibid.*, 1181-82.

30. *Ibid.*, 1185-86.
31. *Ibid.*, 1188.
32. *Ibid.*, 1198.
33. *Ibid.*, 1209. The text of the *Akbarnāmā* says Berar, but its variant Bidar is supported by *I.N.*
34. *Ibid.*, *I.N.* States Pāthari.
35. *Ibid.*, 1212.
36. *Ibid.*, 1223.
37. *Ibid.*
38. *F.A.* (*Q.B.I.S.M.*-XXII-2, *S.C.V.S.*-IV, 4)
39. *Ibid.*
40. *A.N.*-III, 1188. The *Akbarnāmā* says that the Nizāms'āhis should "execute a treaty of service and ratify it by stringent oath."
41. *B.F.*-III, 316.
42. *E.A.*-II, 390.
43. *B.F.*-III, 319.
44. *Ibid.*
45. *Ibid.*, 320.
46. *F.A.* (*Q.B.I.S.M.*-XX-2, *S.C.V.S.*-IV, 6)
47. *B.F.*-III, 316-7.
48. *Ibid.*, 319.
49. *Ibid.*
50. *Ibid.*, 320.
51. *Ibid.*, 316-7.
52. *A.N.*-III, 1171.
53. *Ibid.*, 1209.
54. *Ibid.*, 1212. *Damtour* appears to be *Antūr* which is west of Bidar, rather than *Otūr* which is far from the theatre of Ambar's military campaign at that time.
55. *W.A.B.* (*E.D.*-VI, 167-8).
56. *B.F.*-III, 271.
57. *E.A.*-II, 406.
58. Not identified by the editors of *E.D.*-VI. Can it be *Antūr* or *Kandahār*? Possibly, it was the strategic fort of *Kandahār*, situated on the water-gap of the *Manyād* river, belonging to the Nizāms'āhi dominion. It was ceded in 1607 A.D. by the *Ādils'āh* on the earnest entreaty made by *Ambar*. (*F.A.*, *Q.B.I.S.M.*-XX.2, *S.C.V.S.*-IV, 6). *S. H. Hodivāla* interpretation cannot claim to be correct, as he mentions *Gawilgarh* which is too far off from the *Ādils'āhi* Kingdom. (*S.I.M.H.*, 560.)
59. *W.A.B.* (*E.D.*-VI, 163.)
60. Vide *Moncoes de Reino*, No. 9, Ano de, 1604, 22.
61. Dr. *Banārsī Prasād Saksenā*'s extracts from *Āsad-i Waqāt* in the Transactions of the Indian History Congress, Fifth (Hyderabad Session), 601-3.
62. *Ibid.*
63. *B.S.*-283.
64. *E.A.*-II, 316.

65. *H.L D.*, 174.
66. *B.F.*, -III, 316.
67. The parganā of Sangamner was measured for land-revenue assessment in 1610 A.D. (*S C.S.*-III, 469.)
68. *B F.*-III, 314-5.
69. *S.C.S.*-IX, Art. 20, 23-24. In early 1607 A.D., Chaul was under the sway of the Nizāms'āhī Kingdom.

Ahmadnagar : Regained and Lost

I. Political Condition of India from 1605 to 1615 A.D.

During this period, the Ādils'āhī dominion was contiguous with the southern and eastern frontiers of the Nizāms'āhī Kingdom. The north-eastern portion of the Ādils'āhī territory was sandwiched between the Kutbs'āhī Kingdom on the East and the Nizāms'āhī Kingdom on the West and touched the southern limit of the Moghul empire on the north. The territory of the Kutbs'āh stretched across the Mānjarā River on the east. The remnants of the tiny kingdom of Bīdar was completely encircled on all sides by the territories of the Nizāms'āhī, the Ādils'āhī and the Kutbs'āhī Kingdoms.

It has been already pointed out that the Deccan politics was no longer a Deccan affair; but it was dominated by the expansionist policy of the Moghul emperor. Akbar commenced that task, as briefly described in the previous two chapters, since 1595 A.D. By 1601 A.D., he had annexed Gujrāt, Gondwānā, Khāndesh, Bērar, and a major part of the central Godāvāri Basin, both on the north and south of the river. The southern portion extended from Ahmadnagar on the west to the Mānjarā River on the east. In 1601 A.D., however, Prince Salīm raised a standard of revolt against his royal father. In consequence, Akbar was obliged to turn away his attention from the Deccan to put down the rebellion of his son. In 1604 A.D., Prince Daniyāl died of intemperance in the Deccan. Then followed the illness of Akbar whose malady had been aggravated by bitter animosity displayed by his son, Salīm and his grandson Khusrau against each-

other. On the 27th October, 1605, Akbar succumbed to his prolonged illness.

After the death of Akbar, Prince Salīm came to the throne immediately with the assumption of the title of Jahāngīr. On his enthronement, Jahāngīr had to encounter the revolt of his son, Khusrau, troubles caused by Rai Singh of Bikāner, the invasion of the Persian King on Kandahar, Khusrau's plot for the assassination of the emperor in August 1607 A.D., and Kutb-ūd-din's rebellion in Bihār in April 1610. A.D. Till the end of the year, 1610 A.D. Jahāngīr's energies were absorbed in quelling these disturbances and making his position secure on the throne. This gave him little respite to pay whole-hearted attention to the developments in the political situation and affairs of the Deccan.

Malik Ambar, as a far-sighted statesman and shrewd diplomat, turned these disturbed conditions of the Moghul empire to his best advantage. He was well aware of the fact that the neighbouring powers were casting their covetous eyes on the Nizāms'āhī territory which had been the largest Deccan kingdom in its palmy days, and at that time, had been reduced to almost a shadow of its former self. At first, Malik Ambar addressed himself to the task of putting the house in order by welding together the divided fragments of the kingdom into a united whole under a firm and powerful authority to ward off external attacks of aggression, and to recover the lost territory. It has already been indicated how with admirable foresight, he isolated his most formidable and sworn enemy, Miyā Rājū, from the field of political rivalry by securing atleast an outward neutrality of the neighbouring Deccan states, while Akbar and Jahāngīr had been preoccupied with their own pressing and perplexing problems and difficulties created by the unsettled conditions in the Moghul empire.

Malik Ambar did not remain inattentive to the circumstances. It was his burning desire to keep in check the roving bands of the Moghuls who carried fire and sword into the region of Bālāghāt, and Daulatābād and its environs. Malik Ambar's light Marāthā troops used to lay waste the territory of Berar and Khāndesh by overrunning it.¹ Thus, he carried on a predatory warfare against the Moghuls with varying degrees of

success and kept them at bay for several long years.² The peasantry of the country, overrun by the hostile forces was ruined and gained little repose.

II *Malik Ambar and Ibrāhīm Ādils'āh II.*

Having effected the unification of the Nizāms'āhī Kingdom after rendering Miyā Rājū harmless, Malik Ambar set himself to the task of strengthening his position in the kingdom with a view to carry out an offensive war against the Moghuls for the recovery of the lost territory, and keep them at a distance so that his own state may pay its attention to cultivation and other productive activities. On the return of the Khānkhānān to Āgrā in about August, 1608 A.D.,³ Malik Ambar began to flatter the vanity of Ibrāhīm Ādils'āh II by making several earnest appeals which had their desired results. He began to pose as an humble and loyal servant of the Ādils'āh. Malik Ambar also made a bold proclamation to the effect that he would keep up an unceasing struggle against the Moghuls without yielding to them. He asserted that it was his ardent desire to recover all the territory lost to the Moghuls. This could not be all fulfilled without the active help and cooperation of the Ādils'āh. Since the two sultanates, he urged, were one and the same for all intents and purposes, it was proper and expedient on the part of the Ādils'āhī state to render all the necessary help to the Nizāms'āh against the Moghuls. The Khānkhānān, he pointed out, had been commissioned on the Deccan campaign, with declared intention to subjugate the Nizāms'āhī Kingdom. Consequently, Malik Ambar besought early the help of the Ādils'āh.

Secondly, he pointed out that the fort of Ahmadnagar which had been a safe place for war-materials, soldiers and treasures had passed into the hands of the Moghuls. He, therefore, prayed that the fort of Kandahār which belonged to the Nizāms'āhī Kingdom and came into the possession of the Ādils'āh after the death of Ibrāhīm's'āh,⁴ during the disorder and dissensions following the Moghul invasions, be restored. If the fort were returned to him, he could set at rest all his anxiety and lodge all war-materials and treasures there.

Lastly, he desired that his son should be entertained into the

service of the Ādils'āh and married to a daughter of some servant of his family. Being very eager to maintain the existence of the Nizāms'āhī dynasty, as a matter of policy, Ibrāhīm Ādils'āh acceded readily to all these entreaties. First of all, the fort of Kandahār was vacated 1608 A.D. for Malik Ambar.⁵

Be it noted that the fort is very important from the strategic point of view, as it occupies an eastern gap in the Bālāghāt range. It commanded natural route from Berar to the Nizāms'āhī and Ādils'āhī Kingdoms.⁶ In obtaining the cession of Kandahār, Malik Ambar acted in a most statesman-like manner. In the past, the Ādils'āhī rulers had used the fort of Kandahār as the base for military operations on the northern frontiers of the Nizāms'āhī Kingdom. They had frequently marched with their army against Ahmadnagar, Bir and other places of military importance. The cession of the fort not only cut off the access of the Ādils'āhī troops to the northern part of Nizāms'āhī Kingdom, but also prevented the possible and easy conjunction of the Moghuls with the Ādils'āhī forces. Having secured the northern frontier of the Nizāms'āhī dominion against surprise attacks of the Ādils'āh, Malik Ambar was in a position to encounter the Moghul raiders with all his might without any likely danger and harm from the Ādils'āh. The Ādils'āhī ruler readily agreed to cede Kandahār as he apprehended dangers of the onward march of the Moghuls to the south. He regarded the Nizāms'āhī Kingdom as a buffer state between the Moghul empire and his kingdom, and Malik Ambar as a powerful bulwark against the on-rolling tide of the Moghul conquest in the Deccan. After the cession of the fort, Ādils'āh placed his ten thousand brave soldiers at the service of Malik Ambar. Malik Ambar set apart a jāgir of three lacs of *Hons* for the Ādils'āhī forces.⁷

With regard to the last request, Ibrāhīm Ādils'āh II employed his influence to arrange the marriage of Malik Ambar's son, Ajijul mulk, more popularly known as Fateh Khān, with a daughter of Yāqūt Khān, one of the notable and leading slaves of his dominion.⁸ When all the necessary preparations of the proposed marriage had been made Maulānā Habībullah Sāhib was sent to Junnar to bring Ajijulmulk from there to Bijāpur. The newly married couple was given the palace of Kis'war Khān for residence. The wedding was celebrated with uncommon and dazzling pomp and

show. The celebrations lasted for forty days. As Yāqūt Khān was a man of great confidence, the Ādils'āh spent 20,000 *Hons* for fireworks on the occasion of the marriage and gave a dowry to the bridegroom from his coffers. Fateh Khān set out on the 5th February, 1609 A.D. from Bijāpur to Junnar with his bride. After the return of Malik Ambar costly presents were given to those who had accompanied his son to the Nizāms'āhī capital.⁹

All the above-mentioned facts point to the conclusion that Malik Ambar had succeeded in winning over the Ādils'āh to his side by means of flattery and persuasion. He enlisted at least an outward sympathy, cooperation and help of the Ādils'āh against the Moghuls who were marching again to the Deccan. This stood him in good stead in the immediate future.

It may be concluded that all this led to bring about an apparent friendship and alliance between the Ādils'āh and Malik Ambar. However, Ibrāhīm Ādils'āh II did not appear to have been a reliable and steadfast ally of Malik Ambar. He seems to have changed his attitude and behaviour towards Malik Ambar at every gust of wind. His fickle and wavering conduct bears evidence to the fact that he was a double-minded person. In less than a year, he betrayed Malik Ambar by following a course of treacherous action against the latter. In 1610 A.D., the Ādils'āhī raiders overran the Nizāms'āhī parganā of Shirwal.¹⁰ It may be inferred that while Malik Ambar was engaged in the warfare against the Moghuls on the northern frontiers, the southern borders of the kingdom were rendered vulnerable and the Ādils'āh seized the opportunity to carry out his aggressive raids in these parts of the Nizāms'āhī territory. Evidently, these parts were not demanded in exchange for the fort of Kandahār, ceded to Malik Ambar. Though professedly he was friendly with Malik Ambar, Ibrāhīm Ādils'āh II was secretly inclined towards the Moghul emperor. In order to create a sense of panic and alarm, he sought to open up clandestine negotiations with the Moghul emperor sometime before January, 1609 A.D.¹¹ He earnestly prayed the emperor to commission Mir Jamālud dīn Husain Anjū to his court as he had "chosen the way of loyalty and serve"¹² him with a view to be able to settle the affairs of the Deccan according to his light and satisfaction. In response to his request,¹³ Mir Jamālud dīn Husain Anjū paid a visit to the Bijāpur court

in about September of the year. After Malik Ambar's brilliant success over the Moghuls, the Ādils'āh began to look upon the Nizāms'āhī Premier again as a friendly ally and neighbour, although the parganā of Shirwal was retained by him.

III. Malik Ambar and Murtazā Nizāms'āh II:

Murtazā Nizāms'āh II's relations and dealings with Malik Ambar, as has been delineated in the previous chapter, were far from being happy. The Sultān gave his fitful and most reluctant support and cooperation to his commanding and well-meaning Premier. His occasional vacillating and unsteady behaviour towards his Premier was not conducive to the safety, security and well-being of the state. It not only proved a menace to the position, authority and power of Malik Ambar but offered opportunities for external interference on several occasions.

As Murtazā Nizāms'āh II had quarrelled in 1607 A.D., Malik Ambar entertained the idea of dethroning him. The embers of discontents were fanned into fire when, again, in 1610 A.D., their relations became much strained, due to grave misunderstanding. The intensity of their feelings remained unabated for sometime. Actuated by the keen desire and anxiety to safeguard the continued existence of the Nizāms'āhī dynasty, Ibrāhīm Ādils'āh II sought to intervene in the quarrel to heal the wounds of strife. Having used his good offices he brought about an amicable understanding between them. He succeeded in bringing home to their minds that the enemy had been hovering on the northern frontiers of the kingdom with greedy eyes and that it was highly improper and inexpedient to nurse grievances at that time. In case, they failed to compose their differences, it might, he pointed out, bring about ruin and jeopardise the existence of the Nizāms'āhī kingdom. The better counsels prevailed over with them and both agreed to bury their hatchet and to work in close and mutual cooperation.¹⁴

C.A. Kincaid has made a strange and unwarranted remark that "although Malik Ambar retained all the power in his own hands, he yet won the love and esteem of the young king."¹⁵ The

second half of the observation has no shred of evidence in its support. It runs counter to the historical facts cited above. In the foregoing account, it has been established beyond all doubts that both of them had sought to get rid of each other.

One more fact remains to be emphasized. Murtazā Nizāms'āh II was young but not minor in age. This is borne out, as already been noted, on the high and contemporary testimony of the author of the *Burhān-i-Maāsir*, who tells us that the Sultan was twenty years of age in 1595 A.D.¹⁶ In 1610 A.D., Murtazā Nizāms'āh was killed and was supplanted by a minor child on the throne, Burhān Nizāms'āh III by name, under the able and loyal regency of Malik Ambar.¹⁷

IV. Malik Ambar and the Moghuls:

The four years, which had passed between the fall of Ahmadnagar and the defeat of Khusrau, had been most usefully utilised by Malik Ambar, a statesman of uncommon and tireless industry and energy. It will do well to bear in mind that during this period he set the administrative machinery in order. Malik Ambar seems to have paid his attention to organising and overhauling the administrative machinery of parganās held under his sway in the eastern half of the state. As soon as the parganās of the western half were taken from Miyā Rajū, he did what was done in the eastern parganās in regard to their administrative reform. In 1608 A.D., Malik Ambar effected the administrative reorganisation of the Junnar parganā, according to his newly formulated principles and ideas.¹⁸ Similarly, he undertook to reform the administration of the Sangamner parganā before April, 1610 A.D. by introducing his new revenue system, after measuring the land of the parganā.¹⁹

In the meantime, Malik Ambar set his heart on the recovery of the lost territory of the Nizāms'āhī Kingdom. While the Khānkhānān had been absent from the Deccan to pay his first respects to Jahāngīr at Āgrā, after his accession to the throne, Malik Ambar took back the fort of Antūr in 1608 A.D. and other territory lost to the Moghuls.²⁰ Jahāngīr, on hearing the news of turbulence in the Deccan, was enraged and decided to proceed in person on the Deccan expedition.²¹

On the eve of his departure from the Deccan, the Khānkhānān had openly declared his friendship and open-heartedly interviewed Malik Ambar.²² Jahāngīr does not record this in his memoirs. However, the loss of the imperial territory annoyed the emperor to suspect the conduct of the Khānkhānān. Having been convinced of the faithlessness of the Khānkhānān, Jahāngīr would not have sent him back to the Deccan expedition.

In the month of September, 1608 A.D., Rājā Mān Singh had been deputed to complete the campaign against the Deccan.²³ In the beginning of October of the same year, the Khānkhānān determined to root out the rebels of the Kingdom of the Nizām-s'āh, into which, after the death of Akbār, some disturbances found their way, and stated in writing that "If I do not complete this service in the course of two years, I shall be guilty (of a fault), on the condition that in addition to the force that had been allotted to that *Subhā* 12,000 more horse with 1,000,000 rupees should be sent with me." Jahāngīr ordered that materials for the army and the treasure should be quickly prepared and be despatched. Mukhlis Khān, *baks'ī* of the *ahdīs*, was appointed *baks'ī* of the *Subhā* of the Deccan.²⁴ On his arrival to the Deccan, Rājā Mān Singh puffed up with boast and self-conceit, disdainfully remarked: "Is this the army of the Deccan which is renowned for its plunder? In a moment, its pride will be reduced to the dust. It might not have encountered brave soldiers. They will presently know that they do not wish to seek war any longer after having tasted the fruits of a contest." The chiefs of the Deccan army, on hearing these words became alert and were alarmed and panic-stricken.²⁵ Shortly, it will be realised that the boastful utterance of Rājā Mān Singh turned out to be nothing but an empty vaunt.

As it had become evident that, in order to carry on the affairs of the state in the *Subhā* of the Deccan, it was necessary to send one of the princes, Jahāngīr decided to send his son, Parwīz there. On the 26th August 1608 A.D. (22nd Jumada-l-awwal, 1017 A.H.), having handed over, 2,000,000 rupees for the expenses of the army of the Deccan, which had been ordered for Parwīz, the emperor gave a separate treasure of 500,000 rupees for him.²⁶

On the 5th February, 1609 (6th Zilqāda, 1017 A.H.) Jahāngīr was informed by the Khānkhānān that the Deccanis had assembled together and were making disturbances before Parwiz arrived at Burhānpur.²⁷ When it was discovered that, notwithstanding the nomination of Parwiz and army that had proceeded with him and had been appointed to his service, they were still in need of support and assistance, it occurred to Jahāngīr that he should go in person to the Deccan to mend the affairs there. Though Āsaf Khān, supported the emperor's proposal, Khān Jahān, dissuaded Jahāngīr from undertaking the hazards of the Deccan campaign, since so many *āmirs* had already been despatched there, Khān Jahān offered his services for the Deccan expedition. Jahāngīr, with the concurrence of loyal councillors, ordered Khān Jahān to proceed to the Deccan. Khān Jahān started on his mission on the 15th February, 1609 A.D. (17th Zilqāda, 1017 A.H.)²⁸

It has been already pointed out earlier that the Ādils'āh, in spite of his professed amity with Malik Ambar, assiduously coveted the friendship of the Moghul emperor.²⁹ But before the fresh reinforcements could arrive in 1609 A.D. Malik Ambar had laid siege to the fort of Ahmadnagar which had fallen into the hands of the Moghul.³⁰ The guardianship and preservation of that place had been committed to the charge of Khāwāzā Beg Mirzā Safāwī, who was a relative of S'āh Tahmasp. A large Moghul army was rushed off by Parwiz to rescue the fort "When the Khānkhānān and the *āmirs* and other leaders who had assembled at Burhānpur in waiting on Parwiz devoted themselves to the driving back and defeat the rebels, and from the differences of opinions and quarrels of the *āmirs*, and absence of provision of forage and grain, those who looked after matters of importance brought this large army into improper roads and among hills and difficult passes, they in a short space of time rendered it wretched and impotent, and matters had come to such a pass and the difficulty with regard to grain was such that *they were giving a life for a loaf*. They turned back helplessly with their object unfulfilled. The garrison of the fort, who were expecting aid from this army, on hearing this news, lost heart and stability, and tumultuously wished to vacate the fort at once. When Khāwāzā Beg Mirzā became aware of this, he endeavour-

ed to soothe and quiet the men; but though he did his best it had no good result."³¹ The total strength of the army that invested the fort has been estimated by Finch at ten thousand horse. After having made unsuccessful sallies, the belcaguered Moghul garrison agreed to deliver up the fort on condition that Malik Ambar should withdraw his army about 10 or 12 kms from there. After this agreement, the Moghuls evacuated the fort and began to retire before the 12th May, 1609 A.D. "Which being done," observes Finch, "they suddenly issued upon the unprovided enemy and made a great slaughter."³² One is likely to condemn Malik Ambar for this act of treachery and deceitfulness. It may be pointed out in reply that, after all, he did not fall below the moral standards of his age.

Having recaptured the fort and city of Ahmadnagar, Malik Ambar did not rest at that. He followed up his success by greater and more brilliant successes. He marched against Jālnā at the head of his forces and laid hold of this important military station of the Moghuls. It will do well to remember that Malik Ambar had knit the three Deccani powers, *namely*, Nizāms'āhī, Kutbs'āhī and Adils'āhī into a close alliance against the Moghuls at this time. Malik Ambar was able to mobilise more than ten thousand soldiers. Hawkins states that Ambar had "some ten thousand of his own cost (caste, *i.e.*, Haps'is or Abyssinians), all brave soldiers and some forty thousand Decanees."³³ The Moghul army was large and unwieldy and immobile. Hawkins pictures to us in his following graphic words the headlong flights of the Moghuls before the pursuing hosts of Malik Ambar to Burhānpur:

"The (Moghul) armie consisted of one hundred thousand horse at least, with infinite number of cammels and elephants; so that with the baggage there could not be less than five or six hundred thousand persons, insouth that *the waters were not sufficient for them; a mussock* (Hindi, mashak, goatskin hag) *of water being sold for a rupia, and yet not enough to be had, and victuals at excessive rate.* For the Deccan army still spoyled the countrey before them, and cut hetwist them and supplies for light skirmishes upon their great disadvantage, that without retining the whole army had been endangered. At their returne

to Bramport (Burhānpur) there were not to be found thirty thousand horse, with infinite number of elephants, cammels and other cattell dead."³⁴ It is needless to say that Malik Ambar had chased the Moghuls upto the environs of Burhānpur and the town would have also fallen into his hands but for the timely and stout resistance and defence offered by Prince Parwiz and Rājā Mān Singh.³⁵ As Khāwāzā Beg Mirzā, commander of the Ahmadnagar fort, had not been wanting in bravery and loyalty to the Moghul emperor, he was promoted to a higher rank and a fief was conferred on him in recognition of his gallantry in the defence of the fort.³⁶

The Moghul reverses in the Deccan have been attributed to the suspected loyalty and want of proper military strategy on the part of the Khānkhānān. After his arrival at Burhānpur, he did not look to the opportunity of the time for the campaign, and in an improper season for moving, and when forage and other necessaries had not been laid in, he had carried Sultān Parwiz and his forces above the ghats, and by degrees, in consequence of want of concert among the nobles and his treachery, and of conflicting opinions, matters had come to such a pass that grain was obtained with difficulty, and not a man (maund) was to be got for large sums of money. The affairs of the army became so confused that nothing went on properly, and horses, camels and other animals died in a large number.³⁷

V. The Truce with the Moghuls:

Steeped in misery and plight, the Khānkhānān was left with no alternative but to patch up a hasty truce, sometime before November, 1610, A.D., after the loss of Ahmadnagar and Jālnā, and had to retire to Burhānpur.^{37a}

Perhaps, apprehensive of the growing power of Malik Ambar, again the Ādils'āh became suppliant to Parwiz and the nobles and prayed that they would send to him Mīr Jamālud din Hussain Anjū, "on whose words and acts all the rulers of the Deccan had great reliance, that he might associate himself with them and dispel the fear in their minds." In accordance with the request, the Mīr was despatched on the 23rd April, 1610

A.D. In about September, 1610 A.D., the Mīr arrived at the Bijāpur court.³⁸

The chief reason of the disaster that befell the Moghul army was the dissension among the nobles and especially the alleged treachery of the Khānkhānān. "The nobles wrote to Jahāngīr that Khānkhānān was in collusion with Ambarjiu, who used to pay him one-third of the revenue of the Nizāms'āhī kingdom."³⁹ Malik Ambar seems to have employed gold where and when he could do without arms or when or where he failed to gain his ends. The Khānkhānān seems to have fallen an easy prey to this bait. Jahāngīr was, therefore, under the existing circumstances, obliged to call off the Khānkhānān in the company of Mahābat Khān and appointed Khān Azām (December, 1610) to the Deccan command with another fresh and powerful army "to make amends for and set right some of the improper proceedings that had arisen from the disagreement of the *Āmirs*."⁴⁰ Khān Azām, Faridun Khān Barlas, son of Husain Khān Tukriyab, Alī Khān Niyāzī, Bāz Bāhādur Qalmaq and other *mansabdārs*, near to the number of 10,000 horse were appointed to accompany Khān Azām. In addition to the *ahdīs* who were appointed to this duty, 2,000 others, also, accompanied him and thus making a total of 12,000 horse. Thirty lacs of rupees and several elephants were allotted to Khān Azām together with one elephant and 500,000 rupees for his private expenses which were to be recovered from his fief.⁴¹

VI. Malik Ambar's Invasion of Surat:

Inspired by his commendable triumph over the Moghuls, Malik Ambar seems to have decided to inflict another severe and demoralising blow to their prestige and power. He displayed an astounding, daring and enterprising feat by conducting a raid on Surat in December 1609 or early in 1610 A.D., probably in collusion with local chieftains or their connivance. A contemporary Englishman observes:

"In Dec. (1609 A.D.) we were in much fear of Badur, a descendant of the kings of Cambaya, who lay within two days march of Surat, with 600 horse and many foot. Owing to this, the governor cessed all the inhabitants according to their ability,

with the lodgement and entertainment of soldiers, rating we at ten men. I went immediately to wait upon him and told him that I had twenty English at his service, for which he thanked me, and freed me of further charges. The Banians were forced to labour hard to barricade all the streets of the city, great guards were stationed at the gates and some canons were drawn from the castle. A reinforcement of fifty horse was sent from the garrison of Carode, which had been very insufficient to protect the town, but the governor of Ahmadnagar sent 1,000 horse and 2,000 foot to our succour on which Badur withdrew to his strongholds. Two years before our arrival, the chief had sacked Cambay, of which his grandfather had been king."⁴² In the same year, Malik Ambar, a noble of Nizām'sāh's court, and governor of Daulatābād invaded Gujrāt at the head of 50,000 horse and plundered, and retired as quickly as he came.⁴³ To prevent such raids a body of 25,000 men was posted at Rāmnagar, belonging to the Rājā of Dharampur, on the Deccan frontier, which remained there for four years.⁴⁴

On the return journey Malik Ambar's troops attacked Hawkins in February, who was travelling from Surat to Burhānpur with an escort of sixty Pathan horsemen.⁴⁵

This raid must have created a diversion of the Moghul forces on account of unexpected and surprise attack. Malik Ambar's example seems to have been imitated by S'ivājī in plundering Surat in 1664 and 1670 A.D. Malik Ambar appears to have plundered Surat to replenish his dwindled treasures to conduct the warfare against the Moghuls. The Moghul officers retaliated on the ruler of Bāglān, most probably because of his suspected complicity or deliberate connivance of the raiders. He was saved at the intercession of the Khānkhānān.⁴⁶

VII Daulatābād and Khadakī:

In about the year, 1610 A.D., Malik Ambar transferred the Nizām'sāhī capital from Junnar to Daulatābād.⁴⁷ Two causes prompted him to decide upon this action: *firstly*, with the recapture of Ahmadnagar, it became a suitable place for conducting war against the Moghuls as it was in the close proximity to the Moghul frontiers, and, *secondly*, it was well sheltered and forti-

fied to guard a passage from the north-west to the east.

Under the shadow of the fort of Daulatābād, Malik Ambar laid the foundations of a new and well-planned city, Khadaki, which derives its name from the word, 'khadak' meaning a rocky site. The Bhonsles, who rose to prominence during the regime of Malik Ambar, took keen and lively interest in planning and building the new city. Before the battle of Khadaki in 1612 A.D.,⁴⁸ there were four localities of the new city were named after them and were in a state of prosperity. The names of these localities were Mālpurā, Khelpurā, Paraspurā and Vithojipurā.⁴⁹ The *Māsir-ul-umarā* also bears testimony to this fact, although only Mālojipurā and Parasojipurā occur in it.⁵⁰ It is manifest that the Bhonsles had attained sufficient prestige and importance by earning the gratitude of Malik Ambar who gratefully agreed to perpetuate their memory by giving appellations to various localities after their personal names. Daulatābād remained in the possession of Miyā Rājū till 1607 A.D.,⁵¹ so that it was possible for Malik Ambar to plan a new city in the vicinity of the fort of Daulatābād.

VIII The Warfare with the Moghuls continued:

On account of the disastrous consequences of the Deccan expedition, the organisation of the Moghul army was thrown out of gear. It took nearly a year to overhaul it. All the plans for the future expedition were matured before hand and it was decided to execute it with utmost precision and care. As Abdu-llāh Khān Bāhādur Firuzjang had proposed to enter the neighbouring kingdom of the Deccan by way of Nās'ik, Rām Dās Kachwāhā was appointed to accompany him in order that he might in every place look after him, and not allow him to be too rash and hasty. This force was well equipped; it numbered from 10,000 to 14,000. Besides this, it had been arranged that another force should advance from the side of Berar under the command of Rājā Mān Singh, Khān Jahān, the *Amīru-l-umarā* and other officers. These two armies were to keep up communications, and to be informed of each other's movements, so that they might at an appointed time to close in upon the enemy. This plan had been calculated

to succeed provided the persons entrusted with it worked in cordial and complete cooperation.

Abdu-llāh Khān having passed the ghāts entered the country of the Nizāms'āh in March, 1612 A.D., but made no arrangements for sending messengers to obtain intelligence of the other force, and to regulate his movements in concert, so as to place the hostile forces between the two armies. He was thirsting to signalise himself by inflicting defeat on Malik Ambar. Seized with this eager ambition, he reposed his entire confidence in his own power and resourcefulness. Acting upon his own belief, he paid little heed to Rājā Mān Singh when the latter wished to conduct the concerted plan.⁵²

Malik Ambar, at the head of his forces, inflicted a crushing defeat at Khadakī on Abdu-llāh Khān. To commemorate this brilliant victory, Malik Ambar rechristianed the city Fatehnagar, the city of victory.⁵³

Malik Ambar kept a sharp watch over all the movements of Abdu-llāh Khān and sent a large force of the Marathā bārgīrs, who skirmished with him all day, and harassed him at night with rockets and other fiery projectiles, till the main body of the enemy drew near, and he was quite unaware of their proximity, although he approached Daulatābād, one of the strongholds of the Nizāms'āhī kingdom. Malik Ambar brought reinforcements continually till he assembled a large force, and constantly annoyed Abdu-llāh Khān with rockets and various kinds of fiery missiles till he reduced the Moghul commander to a sad condition. The Moghul generals could not receive any reinforcements, and the Nizāms'āhī forces overwhelmingly outnumbered the Moghul troops. It was deemed expedient to seek safety in hasty retreat and prepare for a new campaign. Malik Ambar's troops heavily pressed on the invaders and beat them back to the northern borders of the Nizāms'āhī dominion. A detachment of the Moghuls suffered a serious encounter, and Ali Mardan Khān Bāhādur, after a valourous conflict, was wounded and fell into the hands of the Nizāms'āhī forces. Zu-l-faqār Beg also displayed manly actions, but a rocket struck him on the leg, and two days afterwards he died. When the Moghul forces reached the frontiers of Rājā Baharjiu (chief of Bāglān), an adherent of the

Moghul throne, the Nizāms'āhī army retired and Abdu-llāh Khān proceeded to Gujrat. On the defeat of Abdu-llāh Khān the army, which marched by way of Berar, had no alternative but to retire; so it retreated and joined the camp of Prince Parwīz, at Burhānpur.⁵⁴

The ignominious failure and flight of Abdu-llāh Khān from the Deccan outraged the feelings of Jahāngīr. Out of rage, he began to consider the desirability of proceeding to the Deccan in person. But Kāwāzā Abul Hassan dissuaded Jahāngīr from the proposed march to the Deccan. It was decided to send the Khānkhānān again.⁵⁵

Jahāngīr deputed Khāwāzā Abul Hassan to investigate into the causes of the failure of the last Deccan campaign. After investigation, it was found that the affairs in the Deccan were in a very unsatisfactory state, in consequence of the bad generalship and want of precautionary measures on the part of Khān Azām. The disaster was partly attributable to the conceit and foolhardy rashness of Abdu-llāh Khān and partly to the discord and want of cooperation among the Moghul forces.⁵⁶

The period extending from 1605 to 1612 A.D. was one of Malik Ambar's continuous and unbroken triumph against the Moghul arms. During the period of seven years, he succeeded in effecting the recovery of most of the lost territory of the Nizāms'āhī kingdom. These achievements not only raised his prestige and respect but also restored the glory of the Nizāms'āhī kingdom abroad. At home, Malik Ambar's authority became unrestrained; fettered only by occasional armed or unarmed oppositions by the chiefs of the Nizāms'āhī kingdom. Fortunately, he escaped safely from all attempts on his life and succeeded in suppressing all rebellions against him with an iron hand. The only effective check of royal influence and authority which could set limits to his power also disappeared with the death of Murtazā Nizāms'āh II in 1610 A.D. The new sultan was a *roi fineant* who could be kept in the leading strings by Malik Ambar. He "daily ascended higher on the steps of prosperity and power and asserted his superiority over the rulers of the neighbourhood. On the one hand, he professed cordiality towards Khān-i-khānān and behaved in a friendly manner to

the Mughal army. On the other side, he acted like a servant of Ibrāhīm Ādils'āh. The nobles of the house of Nizāms'āh, each of whom considered himself as the equal of Ambar, nay even higher and who were jealous of him, were on the watch to overthrow him and preferred discord to cooperation with him."⁵⁷

Malik Ambar and the Moghuls did not violate the terms of peace made in 1612 A.D. for nearly two years. However, the interval of these two years was not peaceful and happy for Malik Ambar. It has already been said that after Murtazā Nizāms'āh II's death, a minor son occupied the throne. As a consequence, Malik Ambar's power and authority became unlimited, but they were not unchallenged. His undisguised and autocratic supremacy made him an eyesore to other Nizāms'āhī chiefs who sought to encompass his downfall, destruction and ruin. In the year, 1613 A.D., the malcontents made an attempt on his life which is described as follows:

".....the Rājputs who had resolved to kill (Malik) Ambar had concealed themselves till they found an opportunity of approaching him, when one of them gave him an effectual wound. The men in the escort of Ambar killed the Rājputs, and carried their master off home. A very little more would have made an end of this cursed fellow."⁵⁸

S'āh Nawāz Khān, son of Abdur Rahīm Khānkhānān, waited on JaJāngīr on the 10th January, 1613 A.D.⁵⁹ S'āh Nawāz Khān was granted leave to proceed to the Deccan on the 14th July, 1613 A.D.⁶⁰

IX. A Combined attack on the Portuguese Power on the western littoral:

The Portuguese continued their career of arrogant intolerance and, in August, 1613 A.D., ventured to attack and plunder some of the ships belonging to the Moghul emperor. This wanton act of aggression led to retaliatory measures against them. At this time, the Moghuls, Nizāms'āhī and Ādils'āhī forces made an all frontal attack on the littoral posts of the Portuguese with a view to expel them completely out of India. Malik Ambar not only

engaged the Portuguese at Chaul in contests but also attacked the fort of Manorā, situated on the island of Bombay.⁶¹ As peace and amity existed between the Moghuls and Malik Ambar, the Nizāms'āhī Regent was not hindered from pursuing the much-hated Portuguese even in the Moghul territory. "The king of Deccan also," points out Danvers, "at the instigation of the Mughal laid a siege to Chaul and Bassein, hoping to drive the Portuguese entirely out of Asia."⁶² It may be said in conclusion, all the three powers made a common cause against the Portuguese by a simultaneous attack on them. However, the Portuguese succeeded in winning over the Ādils'āh to their side and made a peace with him.⁶³

The embers of discontent among the Nizāms'āhī chiefs were still smouldering, while Malik Ambar was preoccupied with a determined contest against the Portuguese power in India. They burst out into fire in 1614 A.D. when the Nizāms'āhī chiefs deserted their posts and went over to the Moghuls under S'āh Nawāz Khān. At this juncture, he had arrived at Bālāpur to wage a war into the Deccan. Malik Ambar appointed Ikhlas Khān as the commander of his army and Jādhav Rāo, Adām Khān, Atashkhān Malhaldār Khān, Udārām, Pes'-rau Khān and (S'āhji) Bhonsle⁶⁴ to assist him. A band of influential leaders and a body of Bārgīrs (Marāthās) who were a hardy lot and who were the centre of resistance in the Nizāms'āhī dominion, becoming angry with Ambar, expressed their intention to seek service in the Moghul army. Having received an assurance of safety, they agreed to interview S'āh Nawāz Khān at Bālāpur and Adām Khān, Yāqūt Khān and other leaders and Jādhav Rāo and Bāpūjī Kāte came and interviewed him in the middle of January, 1615 A.D. He welcomed and honoured them with suitable presents.⁶⁵

Before this, some of the leading Nizāms'āhī chiefs raised a standard of rebellion against Malik Ambar. They kept the commander of the Nizāms'āhī forces, Ikhlas, under captivity, and began to clamour that the work of premiership and regency should be left to one of them, whom the army might choose. They eagerly sought the intervention of Prince Parwīz and the Khānkhānān. The Moghuls readily seized the golden oppor-

tunity of exploiting the differences among the Nizāms'āhī chiefs to their best advantage.

X. The Fresh hostilities with the Moghuls:

The Moghul emperor could hardly reconcile himself with the discomfiture suffered by his arms in the Deccan. The truce, made earlier, was an uneasy peace, followed by the renewal of the campaign for the conquest of the Deccan. On the 5th Mihr, 1024 A.H. (17th September, 1615), Mahābat Khān in the company of Khān Jahān, who had been appointed to serve in the Deccan, took leave for assisting in the discharge of the latter's duties.⁶⁶

On the 17th Shariwar (31st August, 1615), Mirza Jamālud dīn Hussain, who had gone as an ambassador to Bijāpur, returned and waited on the emperor with large presents from the Ādils'āh. The Ādils'āh had nominated Sayyid Kabīr Khān to accompany the Mirzā to the Moghul court.⁶⁷ On the day of his arrival, on the 26 Mihr (8th October, 1615 A.D.), Sayyid Kabīr conveyed the message that the Ādils'āh craved the emperor's indulgence for "the offences of the rulers (dunyadaran) of the Deccan" and promised the restoration of the fort of Ahmadnager and other Moghul territory which had been wrested by the Nizāms'āhī army.⁶⁸ The promises and assurances given by the Ādils'āhī envoy to Jahāngīr are quite contradictory to the terms of the tripartite treaty entered into by Ādils'āh with Malik Ambar and the Portuguese in October, 1615 A.D.⁶⁹

The desertion of the leading chiefs from the Nizāms'āhī services jeopardised the position of Malik Ambar. Being alive to the menacing situation, Ambar appealed to the Ādils'āh to send Mullā Muhammad Lārī as an envoy to recall the mutinous soldiers to their duty. Ibrāhīm Ādils'āh agreed and sent Mullā Muhammad with many chiefs and troops to Khadakī and to contact and advise Malik Ambar. After consultation, it was agreed that Mullā Muhammad should go and conciliate the mutineers. The Mullā placed his army and camp under Muhammad Āmīn, surnamed Mustafā Khān, his son-in-law and nephew.

Mullā Muhammad Lārī came to the Deccani army and saw its affairs in confusion. After some discussion, the Abyssinian

nobles placed him also under surveillance. Later on, at the intervention of the Ādils'āh, some of the Nizāms'āhī chiefs who took to defection, came back, after Malik Ambar's defeat by S'āh Nawāz Khān. Ambar lured Adhām Khān into his hands and finally killed him. Bābū Rāo and Udārām fled to Bijāpur where they were refused shelter or protection. Bābū Rāo died through the treachery of one of his kinsmen or acquaintances. Udārām reentered into the Moghul service.⁷⁰ S'āh Nawāz Khān used to treat Mullā Muhammad very respectfully and designated him in his letters as uncle (*ammujū*). Ambar, accusing the Mullā of his league with the Moghuls, induced Ādils'āh to recall him. On his return to the court, he fell under Ādils'āh's displeasure and was deprived of his fiefs for two years, as Ibrāhīm Ādils'āh was bent upon humouring Ambar.⁷¹ It may be borne in mind that Malik Ambar in October, 1615 A.D. had entered into a treaty with the Portuguese who brought about a triple alliance among the Deccan states of the Nizāms'āh, Kutbs'āh and Ādils'āh. The details of the treaty are discussed *in extenso* elsewhere.⁷²

The Abyssinian deserters from the Nizāms'āhī forces daily pressed S'āh Nawāz Khān to attack Ambar. As the promised reinforcements did not arrive in time, the Khānkhānān resorted to dilatory tactics and wasted his time without doing anything or giving a definite answer. It is no surprise that the Moghul army blamed the Khānkhānān for giving them up to slaughter. As the Moghul reinforcements were delayed, Ambar's forces arrived daily and fought with the enemy while fleeing. Reduced to dire straits, S'āh Nawāz Khān was constrained to encounter the hostile troops. With the newly arrived Nizāms'āhī deserters, S'āh Nawāz Khān marched from Bālāpur against Ambar to the Duhanā River, one of the northern tributaries of the Godāvari. On the way, he encountered and dispersed a Deccani detachment under Malhaldār, Dānish, Dilāwar, Bijlī, Furuz and moved towards Ambar's encampment. Several encounters took place. Ambar also advanced for the contest; only 12 to 15 kms intervened between the two armies. The Deccani forces of 40,000 horse were pitched against the fighting Moghul forces, not exceeding 10,000.

The Moghuls took their post in a village encircled by a meander of the Dudhanā River at Roshangaon, with a deep ditch in front, behind which they planted their artillery. Next day Ambar appeared. His squadron of youths (*bachgan*, i.e., pages) ten thousand Abyssinians, of the age of 17 or 18, mounted on Persian horses, charged from the front of Ambar. They were caught in the deep ditch and could neither advance nor retreat, being huddled together as if they had been chained. In this position they were mown down by the Moghul artillery, like leaves of trees under a destroying wind.⁷⁴ The battle was fought on Sunday, 25th Bahman (3 or 4 February, 1616).⁷⁵

The right and left wings of Ambar fled away of themselves, due to their dissension with him. The Moghuls then advanced to attack, slaying many of his slaves.

A great defeat fell on Ambar's army. His army was pursued for some distance and large property was plundered. So many elephants, horses, and other kinds of property fell into the hands of the Moghul troops that they became rich. The fugitives fled away under the cover of darkness. The Moghuls gave up the pursuit of the Nizāms'āhī forces through exhaustion.

S'āh Nawāz Khān carried fire and sword and desolated the country from the bank of the Dudhanā River to Khadakī.⁷⁶ The houses of Ambar were not allowed to be ravaged, but in the city of Khadakī the devastation and destruction went beyond all limits. Ambar took refuge in the fort of Daulatābād. The Moghul army returned to Burhānpur, after making its passage through the Rohīkhed Pass.

As Jahāngīr felt that the Deccan campaign had not been properly managed, Parwīz was recalled from the Deccan. The Prince started on the 12th July, 1616 A.D. for taking the charge of the *Subhedārship* of Allāhābād.⁷⁷ It is not stated in what way Prince Parwīz's work was found to be unsatisfactory even though he had succeeded in driving back the army of Malik Ambar upto the city of Khadakī. The veil of mystery is uplifted by the fact that, though Malik Ambar had been pushed out of the Moghul territory, he did not give up his efforts against the Moghul army. "Mahaldār Khān with 20,000 horse—ravaged Khāndesh and Berar and expelled the Moghul officers from

their posts.”⁷⁸ Evidently, Parwīz could not stem back the advance of the Nizāms’āhī troops, for which he fell into disfavour of the emperor.

The Khankhānān grew alarmed at the sudden and unexpected raids of the Nizāms’āhī troops and repeatedly wrote to the emperor that unless a prince was sent to the Deccan the situation could not be saved. Jahāngīr, pleased with Khurram’s speedy termination of the campaign against the Rāṇā of Mewār, ordered Khurram to the Deccan. That the prince declined as he was not composed in his mind, due to the detention of Khusrau at the court. Much time passed in these discussions. At last, the emperor agreed to all the demands of Khurram.⁷⁹ On Sunday, the 18th Shāwwal, corresponding to the 8th Ābān (20 or 21 October, 1616) the camp equipage of Khurram left Ajmer for the conquest of the Deccan.⁸⁰

Early in March, 1617 A.D., the two envoys of the Ādils’āh, Afzāl Khān and Rāyā Rāo, interviewed the Prince Khurram and reported that the Sultān professed greatest loyalty and promised that he would help to restore all the territory that Malik Ambar had snatched from the Moghuls. The Ādilsh’āh had sent some one to Ambar with “a message of matters it was necessary to acquaint him with.”⁸¹ It is noteworthy that, during this year, a tripartite treaty had been made among the Portuguese, Malik Ambar and Ādils’āh.⁸² Jahāngīr moved his court from Ajmer to Mandū in order to be near the seat of the Deccan war.

In May or June, 1617 A.D., the fort of Ahmadnagar was taken back by the army of the Moghuls under the command of Khurram. This news was conveyed to Jahāngīr at Mandū by Sayyīd Abdu-llāh Barhā on the 29th Tir, 1026 A.H. (10th July, 1617 A.D.).⁸³

After the capture of Ahmadnagar, Khurram sent missions to Malik Ambar and his ally, Ibrāhīm Adils’āh II, proposing peace on terms of restoring all the Moghul outposts annexed by the Nizāms’āhī Premier and a promise from him to pay tribute to the Moghul emperor regularly in future.⁸⁴ The Moghul campaign against the Deccan monarchs had been brought to a

close by the submission of the Ādils'āh of Bijāpur, which forced Malik Ambar also to make terms by the surrender of Ahmadnagar and other territory which the latter had reconquered from the Moghuls. Roe's account contained in a letter to the English ambassador at Constantinople, dated 21 August, 1617 A.D., is scornful:

"The king is at present in that they call an army; but I see no souldiers, though multitudes entertaynd in qualety. The purpose was the oppression of the united Decan Kings, who are perswaded to part with some rotten castles that may pretend a shadowe of yielding somewhat, for which they are pleased here to thinck themselves woorthy of the glorious prayses due to an honourable conquest."⁸⁵ This clearly indicated the native shrewdness of Malik Ambar in his dealings with the Moghuls.

Khurram returned to Mandū on the 12th October, 1617, after the conclusion of the treaty. He was then at the height of his fame. He was promoted to the command of 30,000 horse, a rank never conferred before, and received the title of S'ah-jahān, or the King of the World.⁸⁶

Rāyā Rāo and Afzal Khān, Ādils'āh's envoys, waited on Prince Khurram in August, 1617 with large and rich presents from their sultān and requested for royal *farmān* bestowing on him the title of *farzand* (son) and for other favours from the emperor. The offerings of presents were also received by Jahāngīr from the Kubts'āh in this year.⁸⁷

Though Malik Ambar had offered a temporary submission to the Moghul power, he continued to offer stout resistance to it thereafter also, after an integerrum of two years.

CHRONOLOGY

| Events. | Dates. | Authority/ Authorities. |
|---------------------|------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Khadaki founded. | Before 1607-8 A. D. | PSS., 28, 29, 53, 54, 55, and 56. |

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|---|-------------------------------|--|
| 2. Malik Ambar's capture of Autūr from the Moghuls. | 1608 A.D. | <i>B.S.</i> , 391. |
| 3. The Administrative reorganisation of Junnar parganā. | 1608 A.D. | <i>S.L.</i> , Art, 7, 13-14. |
| 4. Khānkhānān waited on the emperor. | 1st Week of August, 1608 A.D. | <i>T.J.-I</i> , 149. |
| 5. Parwīz set out on the Deccan campaign. | 26th August, 1680 A.D. | <i>Ibid.</i> , 156. |
| 6. Mān Singh ordered to leave for the Deccan. | September, 1608 A.D. | <i>Ibid.</i> , 148. |
| 7. Khānkhānān's determination to subjugate the Nizāms'āh. | October, 1608 A.D. | <i>Ibid.</i> , 149. ¹ |
| 8. Malik Ambar's invasion of Gujrāt and Surat. | 1609-10 A.D. | <i>Kerr: Voyages-VIII</i> 127, 201 & 331; <i>M.I.A.</i> , 189. <i>F.A.</i> (273a) |
| 9. Ajijulmulk (Fatekhān) started back to Junnar from Bijāpur. | 5th February, 1609 A.D. | |
| 10. Malik Ambar's recapture of Ahmadnagar. | May, 1609 A.D. | <i>T.J.-I</i> , 182; <i>B.S.</i> , 402; <i>E.T.I.</i> , 130. |
| 11. The transfer of Nizāms'āhī capital from Junnar to Daulatābād. | 1610 A.D. | <i>B.S.</i> , 406. |
| 12. Wrangling between Murtaza Nizāms'āh II and Malik Ambar. | 1610 A.D. | <i>Ibid.</i> , 403 4. |
| 13. Malik Ambar raised a minor boy to the throne. | 1610 A.D. | <i>T.J.-I</i> , 220, <i>E.I.M.</i> (Supplement, 1933-34 Plate VIIa, Inscription on fort of Antūr.) |
| 14. Shirwal parganā captured by Ibrāhīm Adil-s'āh. | 1610 A.D. | <i>S.C.S.-I</i> , Art 9. |

15. Ādils'āh petitioned to Prince Parwiz. January, 1610 A.D. *T.J.-I*, 161.
16. Parganā of Sagamner measured for land-revenue. Before April, 1610 A.D. *S.C.S.-III*, Art.
17. Ādils'āh chose "the way of loyalty and service" to the Moghuls. April, 1610 A.D. *T.J.-I*, 176.
18. Mir Jamāl-uddin Husain Anju sent to Bijāpur Court. September, 1610 A.D. *T.J.-I*, 230.
19. The Khānkhānān patched up a truce with Malik. October, 1610 A.D. *Ibid.*, 179; *E.D.-VI*, 323.
20. Khān Azām commissioned to the Deccan campaign. 20th December, 1610 A.D. *T.J.-I*, 219.
21. The defeat of Abdullāh-Khān at Khadakī. 19th March, 1612 A.D. *B.S.*, 406.
22. Alī Mārdan Khān Bāhādur captured by Deccanis. 1612 A.D. *T.J.-I*, 220.
23. Zulfiqār Beg wounded and died. 1612 A.D. *Ibid.*, 220.
24. An attempt on Malik Ambar's life. 1613 A.D. *Ibid.*, 275; *E.D.-340*.
25. A combined attack on the Portuguese. August, 1613 A.D. *A. Bocarro, Decada-XIII*, Ch. 46, 200.
26. The rebellion of Nizāms'āhī chiefs against Malik Ambar. 1614 A.D. *F.A.* (276b & 277a)
27. The desertion of Nizāms'āhī chiefs. 1614-15 A.D. *T.J.-I*, 299-300.
28. Mirzā Jamāl-uddin Husain returned from Bijāpur. 31st August, 1615 *Ibid.*, 298.

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| 29. Mahābat Khān came to the Deccan with Khān Azām. | 17th September, 1615 A.D. | <i>Ibid.</i> , 299. |
| 30. Sayyid Kabīr Khān's arrival from Bijāpur. | 8th October, 1615 A.D. | <i>Ibid.</i> , 300. |
| 31. The Tripartite treaty among Malik Ambar, Adils'āh and Portuguese. | October, 1615 | <i>Q.B.I.S.M.-XII-2.</i> |
| 32. Bābū Rāo Kāte killed in the Adils'āhī territory. | 1616 A.D. | <i>T.J.-I</i> , 398-99. |
| 33. The battle of Roshan-gāon. | 3/4 February, 1616 A.D. | <i>F.A.</i> (276a & 277a) Sardesai: Shahji, 26. |
| 34. The destruction and plunder of Khadaki. | February, 1616 A.D. | <i>F.A.</i> (208a); <i>T.J.-I</i> , 314. |
| 35. Parwiz recalled and started for Allāhābād. | 12th July, 1616 A.D. | <i>Ibid.</i> , 329. |
| 36. Khurram's equipage left Ajmer for the Deccan campaign. | 20/21 October, 1616 A.D. | <i>Ibid.</i> , 337. |
| 37. The Tripartite treaty renewed. | January, 1617 A.D. | <i>Q.B.I.S.M.-XII-2 & 3.</i> |
| 38. Ādils'āh's profession of loyalty to the emperor. | March, 1617. A.D. | <i>T.J.-I</i> , 368. |
| 39. Malik Ambar lost Ahmadnagar. | May/June, 1617 A.D. | <i>Ibid.</i> , 380. |
| 40. The treaty of Malik Ambar and Ādils'āh with the Moghuls. | July, 1617 A.D. | <i>F.A.</i> (283b). |
| 41. Ādils'āhī envoy waited for a <i>farmān</i> on the emperor. | August, 1617 A.D. | <i>T.J.-I</i> , 387-88. |
| 42. Khurram's return to Mandū. | 12th October, 1617 A.D. | <i>Ibid.</i> , 393. |

References and Notes

1. This clearly indicates that guerilla mode of warfare developed very fully during the unsettled times, obtaining after the fall of Ahmadnagar in 1600 A.D. Malik Ambar seems to have pursued it with some degree of regularity. In fact, however, it was being followed in the Deccan much earlier than this.
2. Refer to Ch. 2.
3. *T.J.*-I, 147.
4. Ibrāhīm Nizāms'āh died on the 30th July, 1595 A.D. (16, Amardād). *A.N.*-III, 1028, The fort must have been taken sometime in August, 1595 A.D.
5. *F.A.* (271b); *B.S.*, 391.
6. Refer to the International Map, Hind 5000, Sheet No.N.E.43.
7. *B.S.*, 392
8. *F.A.* (273a) ; *B.S.*, 391-4.
9. *F.A.* (273a) ; *B.S.*, 392-4.
10. *S.C.S.*-I, Art. 9.
11. *T.J.*-I, 161.
12. *Ibid.*, 176.
13. *Ibid.*, 182.
14. *B.S.*, 403-4.
15. *H.M.P.*-I, 160.
16. *B.M.*-I, 331-32
17. *T.J.*-I, 220:

Except for Pieter Van Den Broecke, no other historian has mentioned how Malik Ambar removed Murtazā Nizāms'āh, II, who was regarded as a thorn in his side by the former. Pieter Van Den Broecke has recorded that "later it happened that king's first wife, who was white Persian woman, reproached Malik Ambar's daughter with bitter words saying that she was only a slave girl and the concubine of the king and that her father was a rebel. The daughter told her father who was so angry that he is determined to have the king killed and at last he gained over king's secretary, Mīr Abdul Fatch, who poisoned him with a drink of which he died, leaving a minor son. Malik Ambar at once took charge of the minor son, made himself master of the whole country. The son is now about 12 years old, and was only five when his father died. The Malik goes in person twice a week to pay his respects. The boy king is named Nizāms'āh. The Queen, who was the cause of the whole quarrel was also poisoned, after her husband's death." (*J.I.H.*, 1938, 147)

18. *S.L.*, Art. 7. 13 14.
19. *S.C.S.*-III, Art 469.
20. The author of *B.S.* calls it 'Intor', 386; its name occurs as 'Antūr' in *F.A.* (271a).
21. *B.S.*, 386; *T.J.*-I, 147.

22. *B.S.*, 394.
23. *T.J.-I*, 148.
24. *Ibid.*, 149.
25. *B.S.*, 396.
26. *T.J.-I*, 155.
27. *Ibid.*, 161. A triple alliance, subsisted among the rulers of Ahmadnagar, Bijāpur and Golcondā. (*E.T.I.*, 131.)
28. *T.J.-I*, 161.
29. *Ibid.*, 161-2.
30. *Ibid.*, 181-2; *B.S.*, 402; *E.T.I.*, 130. It may be noted that 1019 A.H. begins on the 17th March, 1610.
31. *T.J.-I* 181-2.
32. *E.T.-I.*, 130, dated the 12th May, 1609. Evidently, Malik Ambar took back Ahmadnagar before the second week of May, 1609.
33. *Ibid.*
34. *Ibid.*, 146-7.
35. *Ibid.*, 138.
36. *T.J.-I*, 178.
37. *Ibid.*, 179.
38. *Ibid.*, and *E.D.-VI*, 323.
39. *F.A.* (275a)
40. *T.J.-I*, 183-4.
41. *B.S.*, 406.
42. *Kerr-VIII*, 274-5. (Quoted in the Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency—Surat and Broach, Vol. II, 74.)
43. *Ibid.*, 331;-IX, 127 & 201.
44. Gujrāt Gazetteer, Pt. I., Vol. I, 274.
45. *Finch* in *Kerr's* voyages, VIII, 280.; *Watson: History of Gujrāt*, 68 and also Ch. 7.
46. *Indian Historical Quarterly-XXIII-3*, 152, *Mss Nabāb-Khān Gharitam.*
47. *B.S.*, 406.
48. *PSS.*, 29, 53, 54, 55, & 56.
49. *S.C.S.-VI*, Art. 128.
50. *III.*, 524.
51. Māloji and Vithoji rose to prominence first in 1606 A.D., as the several grants in their names bear evidence to this (*PSS.*, 29, 53, 54, 55 & 56.). Francois Pyrard states that the foundations of the city were laid in 1608 A.D. (p. 392) (Quoted by De Cunha: *Notes on the History and Antiquities of Chaul and Bassein*). According to J.C. Grant Duff the town was founded in 1610 A.D. (*H.M.-I*, 81.)
52. *T.J.-I*, 219-20.
53. *B.S.*, 406. Gulām Ahmad Khān contends that the city was named after Malik Ambar's son, Fatch Khān. (*Transactions of Indian History Congress, Fifth (Hyderabad) Session. 1944*, 404-5.
54. *T.J.-I*, 221.
55. *Ibid.*
56. *Ibid.*; *B.S.*, 405-6; *E.D.-VI*, 332-4.

57. *F.A.* in *Q.B.I.S.M.*, XX-2 (S.C.V.S.-VI.)
58. *T.J.*-I, 275; *E.D.*-VI, 340.
59. *T.J.*-I, 233-4.
60. *Ibid.*, 243.
61. *A. Bocarro*; *Decada XIII*, Ch. 46, 200; *E.T.I.*, 191-3. The Moghul ship, named the *Rahimī*, belonging to the Queen-Mother, was captured by the Portugese in September, 1613. (*E.T.I.*, 193.)
62. *Fredrick Charles Danvers*; *Portuguese In India*, being a History of the Rise and Decline of their Eastern Empire, Vol. II, 162.
63. *Livro das Moncoes*, No. 12, 47V-49V. (Quoted by P. S. Pissurlencar in 'The Extinction of the Nizāms'āhī 'in the Sardesai Commemoration Volume').
64. *F.A.* (276a). The mention of Bhonsle raises the curiosity as to the name of the individual concerned. J.N. Sarkār notes that the name of 'S'āhji' occurs in the margin of *Ms*, It is doubtful whether S'āhji could be mature and talented enough in 1614 A.D. to undertake the task of any military campaign.
65. *T.J.*-I, 312-3.
66. *Ibid.*, 299.
67. *Ibid.*, 298.
68. *Ibid.*, 300.
69. *Q.B.I.S.M.*-XII-2.
70. *T.J.*-I, 398-99.
71. *F.A.* (276b & 277a)
72. Refer to Ch. 6.
73. In *F.A.* it is mentioned as "the river of Patan (Paithan) (278a). J.N. Choudhary in his monograph on Malik Ambar refers to it as Roshālgārh near Khadakī (p.76). Sardesai identifies with Roshangāon (S'āhji in Marāthī, p. 27, Edition of 1936.).
74. *F.A.* 278a, 278b & 279a.
75. *T.J.*-I, 313.
76. Fuzūnī Astrābādī in his *F.A.* states that S'āh Nawāz Khān proceeded from Patan (Paithan) to Khadakī which appears to be impossible, due to the geographical location of Paithan.
77. *T.J.*-, 329.
78. *F.A.*, (282b).
79. *F.A.* (283b) states that this took six months.
80. *T.J.*-I, 337.
81. *Ibid.*, 368. It mentions 'Rāy Rāyān' as one of the ambassadors of the Ādils'āh.
82. Refer to Ch. 6.
83. *T.J.*-I, 380.
84. *F.A.* (283b).
85. Add M.S., 6115, f. 207 in Letters Received-VI, 298.
86. *T.J.*-I, 393.
87. *Ibid.*, 387-8.

The Precursors of the Battle of Bhātswādī

I. The Phases of the Deccan Politics

It has already been indicated in the last chapter that the period from 1607 A.D. to 1617 A.D. first witnessed Malik Ambar's successes, followed by his reverses. The fall of Ahmadnagar in 1617 A.D. culminated in his ill-success. Consequently, he had to formulate a policy calculated to be most defensive. He was obliged to be friendly and, even, seek submission to his opponents. He tried to win over the Deccan Sultans not only by a non-offensive behaviour but even by ceding chunks of the Nizāms'āhī Kingdom. But, as the all-powerful Moghul emperor had already set on the path of expansion towards the south, it was not possible for Malik Ambar to induce the Deccan States to be friendly towards him. On the other hand, these, whenever feasible, tried to snatch away portions of Nizāms'āhī territory; and, the Moghul emperor generally encouraged the Ādils'āh with a view to gain the latter's cooperation to bite off portions of the unfortunate state. Malik Ambar had already to face the above circumstances; and the loss of Ahmadnagar further weakened the Nizāms'āhī Kingdom. In fact, this circumstance raised suspicions in the hearts of Malik Ambar's compatriots as to whether the state could survive at all. Defections of his followers were not unusual. This further led to the deterioration of Malik Ambar's position and made him all the more submissive. He had quietly to pocket many an insult and offence, at the hands of not only the Moghul emperor but also of the Ādils'āh and the Kutbs'āh. However, Malik Ambar did not submit to all offenses, offered by the neighbouring kingdoms

but prepared himself to resist them. His policy was to bend before the storm for the preservation of the state. But when the very existence of the kingdom was at stake on account of the aggressive policy of the Moghul emperor and the Ādils'āh, he girded up his loins and faced the enemies with his full strength and admirable intrepidity and intelligence so that he scored brilliant and dazzling success in the struggle. It is this aspect of Malik Ambar's life that is delineated in the following pages.

II. *The Kutbs'āh and Malik Ambar (1618-23 A.D.).*

The fall of Ahmadnagar could not but strike terror into the hearts of the Deccan *Sultānates*. They entertained misgivings about the intentions of the Moghul emperor. Now, it was evident to them that the Moghul emperor was out to swallow the Nizāmsh'āhī State. They, therefore, began to adopt a flattering and humouring attitude towards the Moghul emperor. When in March, 1618 A.D., Jahāngīr entertained Mohammad Āmīn styled as Mir Jumla,¹ formerly in the service of the Kutbs'āh, the Golcondā ruler, in the next year importuned the Moghul emperor for an imperial portrait with a view to win his pleasure and favour.²

In the long run, in 1619 A.D. it was realised by the Kutbs'āh that it was not in his self-interest to break out with Malik Ambar openly. On the contrary, self-interest dictated a policy of alliance with him. Ultimately, the Kutbs'āh joined the 'grand alliance' formed by Malik Ambar against the Moghuls³ and thus, the former followed a policy of duplicity.

III. *The Ādils'āh and Malik Ambar:*

Till the period preceding 1618 A.D., Malik Ambar's relations and dealings with Ibrāhīm Ādils'āh II remained at least outwardly cordial and smooth. Ibrāhīm Ādils'āh II, although a doubtful and hesitant ally, extended his hand of co-operation to Malik Ambar in most of his enterprises. It cannot escape our attention that the Ādils'āh was favourably inclined towards the Moghul Emperor and that the former sought a clandestine alliance with the latter. Malik Ambar,

however, avoided all occasions of conflict with the Ādils'āh as far as possible. Till the year, 1617 A.D., the Ādils'āh reciprocated the feelings and actions of Malik Ambar. The Ādils'āh had returned the *Parganā* of Shirwal in the month of November, 1617 A.D.,⁴ captured in 1610 A.D., immediately after the tripartite treaty made in October, of the same year. After this, the *Mokāsā* of the *Parganā* was confirmed on Kājī Hussain and Azam Amjada Mūluk by Malik Ambar.⁵

However, the middle of 1618 A.D. marks the beginning of wrangles between Malik Ambar and the Ādils'āh which ultimately broke out into open and bitter conflicts, leading to the battle of Bhāt-wādī. This dispute was not of Malik Ambar's own seeking. He was drawn into it for the defence of the Nizāms'āhī State against an aggressive attitude adopted by the Ādils'āh at the instance of Jahāngīr. The following significant words bear ample testimony to the Ādils'āh's aggressive policy, initiated and incited by Jahāngīr in March, 1618:

"A gracious *firmān* was issued that he (*Ādil Khān*) should be presented with whatever territory of Nizāmu-l-mulk or Qutbu-l-mulk he might get into his possession, and whenever he should require any support and assistance, S'āh Nawāz Khān should prepare an army and appoint to assist him."⁶ The Ādils'āh did act upon the advice and suggestion of Jahāngīr. The discomfiture of Malik Ambar at Ahmadnagar occasioned and prompted the initiation of this aggressive policy of the Ādils'āh. The *Tape* of Kānadkhore was raided and annexed by the Ādils'āh before July, 1618 A.D.⁷ This act of aggression was a flagrant breach of the friendly and cordial relations, maintained by Malik Ambar with the Ādils'āh. The Moghul emperor records in his memoirs with deep sense of pleasure and gratification that the Ādils'āh "did approved service, and was honoured with the exalted title of 'son' (*Farzand*). I appointed him the head and leader of the whole country of the Deccan," and he also received a portrait of the emperor.⁸ The invasion on and violation of the Nizāms'āhī territory sowed seeds of discord which burst out into a wild conflagration in 1621 A.D. when the Ādils'āh indulged in a general raid on the southern frontier of the Nizāms'āhī dominion. Malik Ambar did not make any efforts beyond offering military resistance to wrest

the *Tape* of Kānadkhore from the Ādils'āh. Malik Ambar quietly reconciled himself with the loss of this portion of the dominion. This policy of submission was a politic and sagacious move in so far as it did not immediately impair his relations openly and left the door open for the future 'grand alliance' in which the Ādils'āh sided with Malik Ambar in 1619 A.D., against the Moghuls. Malik Ambar had enough sagacity and patience to deal blows at the Ādils'āh at an opportune time. From the narration of these events it is manifest that the view of K.V. Purandare, namely, cordial relations existed between the Ādils'āh and Malik Ambar from 1613 A.D., to 1621 A.D., is hardly tenable.⁹

In 1619 A.D., the Ādils'āh cast his greedy eyes on the Barīds'āhī-Kingdom which was on its last legs. Ibrāhīm Ādils'āh marched to Bīdar against Alī Barīd II who had maintained the family tradition of hostility against the Ādils'āhī dynasty. Bīdar fell and Barīd and his sons were made captives by Ibrāhīm, who carried them to Bijāpur where they ended their days in captivity. After the annexation of Bīdar to the Bijāpur Kingdom, Bīdar remained a part of the Ādils'āhī Kingdom until Aurangzeb began to chalk out his plans for the entire subjugation of the kingdoms of the Deccan.¹⁰

The betrayal of Malik Ambar by Ibrāhīm Ādils'āh II, even in the year of the 'grand alliance' in 1617 A.D., on reassuring and reaffirming it in accordance with the tripartite treaty of alliance of friendship made in 1615 A.D., at the instance of the Portuguese,¹¹ is a glaring example of how the doubtful ally could play fast and loose with the most friendly neighbour. While Ibrāhīm had joined hands with Malik Ambar in the offensive war with the Moghuls in the early part of 1619 A.D., he did not hesitate to send his army into the Nizāms'āhī territory towards the end of the same year to effect forcible but temporary occupation of Poonā, Supā and Indāpur. Malik Ambar's avoidance of an open and violent conflict in spite of the raid on the Parganā of Shirwal in the previous year,¹² seems to have been construed by the Ādils'āh as Malik Ambar's weakness. Either taking advantage of Malik Ambar's pre-occupation with the war against the Moghuls or incited by Jahāngīr, Ibrāhīm Ādils'āh II indulged in the act of wanton

aggression on the Nizāms'āhī Kingdom. Hardly was the ink dry with which the Ādils'āh signed the treaty when he committed the breach of faith and confidence reposed in him by Malik Ambar. Malik Ambar had to put up with the invasion particularly, as he was unable to open another war front against the Ādils'āh till the latter half of 1621 A.D., when the war with the Moghuls terminated in a treaty of peace. However, Malik Ambar seems to have not been totally inactive against the aggressive designs of the Ādils'āh. Malik Amber wrested Kanad khore from the Ādils'āh sometime before Nov., 1617.¹³ The tract around Kānadkhore seems to have been frequently disputed and exchanged hands between the Ādils'āhī and Nizāms'āhī *sultāns*.¹⁴

Mālojī, one of the trustworthy lieutenants of Malik Ambar, was commissioned against Rāyā Rāo, the agent of Mullā Muhammad Lārī, who was given the *Mokāsā* of the annexed territory in Kānad khore. Rāyā Rāo had made his headquarters at Daulāt-mangal alias Bhules'war, from where he conducted the administration of the *Parganās* concerned.¹⁵ Rāyā Rāo's high-handed administration became odious to the conquered. He extorted money by all means, fair or foul.

Mālojī, while engaged in ousting the agent of Mullā Muhammad Lārī, died in action on the battle-field of Indāpur. At this time S'āhjī was only about 25 years in age.^{15a} The duty of conducting the campaign against Rāyā Rāo was committed to his charge immediately after the death of his father. On S'āhjī the robes of a vazier were conferred whereby he became a Nizāms'āhī *sardār* or chief. The date of Mālojī's death points to the conclusion that the battle of Indāpur took place towards the end of 1621 or early in 1622 A.D.

S'āhjī rose to the height of this occasion against Rāyā Rāo. By dint of his superior generalship, valour and prowess, the Marāthā chief effected the expulsion of the Ādils'āhī agent, Rāyā Rāo from the Nizāms'āhī territory into Ādils'āhī dominion. He recaptured the *Parganās* of Shirwal, Poonā, Supā and Indāpur on behalf of the Nizāms'āh and obtained their *Mokāsā* for his singular services rendered to his royal master.¹⁶ Thus, in 1622 A.D. S'āhjī proved his mettle against the might of the

powerful enemy for the first time as an independent general and chief.¹⁷

As Malik Ambar succeeded in driving out the agent of Mullā Muhammad Lārī from his newly acquired territory, the Mullā was mortally offended at Ambar. In the fit of furious rage, the Mullā designed to end his enemy's life. The contemporary Englishmen observe that Ibrāhīm Adils'āh of Bijāpur had attempted to get Malik Ambar drowned in a tank in about October, 1621 A.D., but his efforts proved abortive.¹⁸

IV. The 'Khandāgale Incident' and defection of Jādhav Rāo:

At this time there occurred an incident which served to weaken Malik Ambar's position further. The famous Khandāgale incident occasioned bitter enmity between the Bhonsles and Jādhav Rāo,¹⁹ and ended in the defection of the latter. One day at the end of a court levee in 1621 A.D., there was a terrible rush in the retinues of the various warlords. The elephant of one noble named Khandāgale got out of control and trampled several men under his feet. Jādhav Rāo's son, Dattājī ran to control the animal. In the scuffle that followed Vīthojī's sons, Sambhājī and Khelojī, and afterwards, S'āhji advanced to save their friend, Khandāgale against Dattājī. Dattājī fell in this fight, and hence Jādhav Rāo returned in anger with his retinue and killed Sambhājī and wounded his son-in-law, S'āhji. The Nizāms'āh appeared on the scene and separated the two parties. He was filled with bitter sense of disgust on account of the overbearing behaviour and attitude of Jādhav Rāo. This *sardār* was one of the principal and most influential Marāthā chiefs, and left Daulatābād and got himself enrolled in the Moghul service with his adherents against his former royal master in November, 1621 A.D., as he entertained some misgivings against himself.²⁰ The defection of Jādhav Rāo was also an out-come of the policy of Prince S'āhjahān who, in the capacity of the Viceroy of the Deccan, had been sowing seeds of intrigues among the Nizāms'āhī nobles. Jādhav Rāo was treated with unusual honours by the new master. His position became so enviable that it could be coveted only by a prince.

"The manner, in which the Moghuls received and rewarded

him, is, itself a proof of the great power and consequence which the Mahrattās had by that time attained. A mansab of 24,000, with 15,000 horse, was conferred upon him, and such of his relations, as accompanied him, were all raised to high ranks."²¹

It is interesting to note that Mālojī and Vithojī do not appear to be present on the occasion of the 'Khandāgale Incident'. It does not seem that the incident came off sometime after Mālojī's death in the battle of Indāpur. It is likely that Mālojī and Vithojī were away at the battlefield near Indāpur at this juncture.

V. *Malik Ambar and the Moghuls:*

Malik had fitted out a naval expedition against Surat in 1617 A.D.^{21a}

Jahāngīr was absent in Kās'mir in March, 1620. Malik Ambar took the advantage of this opportunity for regaining the lost territory from the Moghuls. He not only made a bold bid for it, but also carried out a daring raid and marched far into the interior of the Moghul empire. It was really the most admirable feat accomplished by him in his life-time.

For carrying out his intrepid project, Malik Ambar formed a grand alliance early in 1619 A.D. among the surviving Muslim *sultanates* of the Deccan, fostered by the treaty signed in January, 1617 at the instance of the Portuguese.²²

In 1619 A.D., Khanjar Khān was placed in charge of Ahmadnagar.²³ Probably in May 1619 A.D., Malik Ambar broke the peace-treaty,²⁴ signed with the Moghuls in 1617 A.D. and laid siege to Ahmadnagar. Several skirmishes took place outside the fort in which the combined forces of the Deccan potentates sustained defeats. On one occasion, Darab Khān, taking with him well-mounted young men, attacked the hostile combination. A fierce battle ensued and the enemy, being defeated, retired some distance from the theatre of action. The enemy camp had been plundered by the Moghul army which returned in safety to their camp. The advantage of the victory did not lay with the Moghuls, in spite of their military triumph. The guerilla warfare of the Deccan reduced the Moghul army to such dire

straits that their further stay at Ahmadnagar became unsafe and risky. It was decided to go down the pass of Rohankhed²⁵ and remain below the ghāts "so that forage and grain might be easily obtained, and the men might not incur any labour or distress." The Moghul forces retired to Bālāpur accordingly. The combined forces of the Deccan *Sultāns* followed them closely on their heels during their retreat to Bālāpur and lay in its environs. Rājā Bīr Singh Deo, plucking up courage encountered the pursuers and beat them back.²⁶

At the investment of Ahmadnagar, the Khānkhānān sent for reinforcements which could not be furnished, for the Moghuls were engaged in the conquest of Kāngdā. However, 2,000,000 rupees were immediately sent to the Khānkhānān. As S'āhjahān had been sent away for the important campaign of Kāngdā, the experienced personnel of the Great Moghul army was with him there. S'āhjahān could not relieve the veterans of the army for the Deccan expedition for some days. At length, despatches after despatches were received by Jahāngīr to the effect that the enemy had gathered strength and horsemen numbering nearly 60,000 had collected and taken possession of the imperial territory, and having removed the various military posts, they had appeared together in the town of Mehkar.²⁷ The Deccanī army was encamped there for three months and passed their time in daily skirmishes and fighting with the Moghuls. In the space of three months, three pitched battles had taken place and the Moghul arms had proved superior to those of the Deccanī invaders. The constant plunder and loot resorted to by the raiders caused a scarcity of grain which made the position of the Moghul forces untenable there too. Animals, like men, suffered from the miserable plight. As provisions could not be obtained by the Moghuls, they were constrained to fall back to the north to take up their position again at Bālāpur. The invading militia did not turn back but followed them closely even to Bālāpur and was busy with plunder and pillage in the vicinity of the town. With a picked band of 6,000 or 7,000 soldiers the Moghul generals encountered them. A bloody contest ensued and the camp of the invaders was pillaged. During the course of the retreat of the Moghul attackers to their camp, the invaders hung on closely on all sides and

went on fighting as far as the camp. The number of the killed on both sides was estimated to be 1,000. After this contest, the Moghuls did not stir from the place for four months. The acute shortage of provisions caused consternation among the ranks of the Moghuls who became disloyal in a large number and joined hands with the invaders. No alternative was left with the Moghuls but to seek retirement after flight to Burhānpur which they, ultimately, did. The Deccanī army chased the fleeing host in hot pursuit to the environs of the city of Burhānpur and laid a close investment to it for six months. Many *Parganās* of Berar and Khāndesh passed under the possession of the Deccanī army which indulged freely in the oppression of the peasant folk and the poor, being engaged in collecting state revenues. As the Moghul army had suffered great privations and hardships, and their animals were in a bad state, it was hardly possible to carry out any sortie against the besiegers and to make their escape. At this point of time glad tidings of the conquest of Kāngdā were received by Jahāngīr. The Moghul army returned from there with all haste to the imperial capital. The expedition against Kāngdā came to a close on its surrender on the 16th November, 1620 A.D.²⁸

By this time, the Deccanī had crossed the Narmadā River and passed beyond it to its north and lay in the neighbourhood of Mandū. They busied themselves in pillage and loot and laid their hands on an English mercantile caravan which was passing from Āgra to Surat.²⁹ The Moghul arms had already suffered several reverses and sustained heavy losses and their prestige had sunk to the lowest level. This sent a thrill of alarm among the imperialists. They looked obviously upon S'āhjahān as the right person to restore order but Jahāngīr had been ailing, and if he died during the absence of the prince, it was almost certain that Khusrau's partisans would succeed in raising him to the throne. S'āhjahān, therefore, made the delivery of his eldest brother into his charge a condition precedent to his acceptance of the Deccan command. The catastrophe in the Deccan was acute and could not brook further delay. Jahāngīr had to agree most reluctantly to the demand of S'āhjahān. S'āhjahān, after bidding farewell to his father at Lāhore, carried his unfortunate brother with him in December, 1620.³⁰

While S'āhjahān had reached Ujjain, reports came to him from the inmates of the fort of Mandū that the Deccanīs had been laying waste the vicinity of the town and that the neighbouring villages were set on fire. Afzal Khāwāzā made a night march against the invaders and, after the dawn, they were pursued for nearly 13 kms and many of whom were put to the sword. By forced marches the invaders safely retired to Burhānpur, after successfully crossing the Narmadā River. Abu-l-Hasan was ordered to remain on the other side of the river till S'āhjahān could arrive there. Soon after, S'āhjahān's troops joined the van of the Moghul army and rushed off towards Burhānpur after several marches till they gained the place. The invaders, however, had held the ground at Burhānpur and encamped round the city. As the imperial troops had engaged the Deccanīs in fighting, they suffered several handicaps for want of land (non-possession of fiefs and landlessness) and scarcity of corn, and their horses were worn out by continued exertions of toil for two years. Accordingly, they had to put off their stay for nine days for a fresh recruitment. During this period, thirty lakhs of rupees were distributed among the soldiers and *sazawals* (footmen), who had been sent out and had brought many men out of the city. When the raiders could not hold the field, they took to their heels and were scattered in various directions. Many of them were killed in flight. The invaders were continuously pursued upto the fort of Daulātābād. On hearing of the approach of the Moghuls, Malik Ambar removed the Nizāms'āh and his family and their personal effects to the fort of Daulātābād. There he had encamped, with the back resting on the fort, while in front of him there were swamps. The victorious army halted for three days at Khadakī and so destroyed "the city which had taken twenty years to built, that is not known if it will regain its splendour in other twenty years."³¹ After accomplishing the ruin and destruction of Khadakī, the Moghuls marched to the succour of the fort of Ahmadnagar which had been besieged by the Deccanīs. The besiegers raised the siege and withdrew from there on hearing of the approach of the advancing Moghul host.

Soon after this, Malik Ambar opened up overtures for treaty of peace by sending his agents and officers to the Moghuls. The treaty stipulated that, in addition to the retrocession of the Moghul territories, 22½ kms of adjoining territory should be ceded and the Deccan allies should pay an indemnity of 50 lakhs of rupees. The treaty seems to have been concluded in about May, 1621 A.D.³²

VI. *Some Marāthā Chiefs of the Nizāms'āhī Kingdom:*

Mālojī seems to have accompanied the Deccanī army to the north against the Moghuls.³³ Jādhav Rāo, S'āhjī and Nimbālkar of Phaltan bravely fought on the side of Malik Ambar in the last war against the Moghuls. S'āhjī by his constant raids upon the Moghuls proved his valour, dash and generalship even in the war against the imperialists.³⁴

In the later half of 1622 A.D., the Moghul empire became embroiled in the revolt raised by S'āhjahān against his royal father in June of the same year to seize the imperial throne. After having consolidated the gains of the last war, S'āhjahān seems to have been in a sullen mood, for Nūr Jahān was setting the emperor against him. S'āhjahān had already threatened Jahāngīr with hostility and rebellion, if the emperor proved to be unaccommodating.³⁵ Driven from the pillar to the post, S'āhjahān sought shelter and protection from Malik Ambar, who seems to have declined asylum in the early stages of the rebellion of the prince, as the Nizāms'āhī Premier intended to secure the assistance of the Moghuls against the neighbouring Ādils'āh.

Jādhav Rāo and Udārām had joined S'āhjahān in his rebellion but later on deserted his cause, as soon as his adherents dwindled away. For sometime, the Khānkhānān also sided the prince in the revolt. So, the position of the Moghul emperor was seriously imperilled. This circumstance was employed by Malik Ambar to turn it to his advantage.

VII. *Malik Ambar's Supplicatory Attitude:*

In about March, 1623 A.D. Ambar sent one of his con-

fidential men, Alis'er, by name, to convey his great humility." He wrote in the capacity of a servant of Māhābat Khān, and engaged that he should come to Deulgaon and wait upon Mahābat Khān. He would make his eldest son a servant of the (Moghul) State," and keep him in the service of the Prince, Parwīz.³⁶ Similarly, the Adils'āh too took to supplication and sent a letter to Qāzī Abdul Azīz that the Bijāpur ruler "from the bottom of his heart had elected for service and loyalty, and agreed that he might remain continually on duty."³⁷

The course of events took, however, an unexpected and unforeseen turn by which Malik Ambar emerged victorious against the formidable alliance of the Moghuls, Ādils'āh and Kūtub-s'āh, after long, patient and hard manoeuvring and strenuous efforts, at the decisive battle-field of Bhātawādī.

APPENDIX A

The History of Poonā, Supā, Shirwal and Indāpur:

With a view to determine the date of the battle of Indāpur and the extent of the Nizāms'āhī State, it will be worth while to examine how Poonā, Supā, Shirwal and Indāpur changed hands between 1600 and 1621 A.D. As no regular history of the period on the topic, written by any contemporary scholar, is available, it has to be constructed on the basis of extant records:

1. The History of Shirwal.

| Date A.D. | Regime | Remarks | Authority |
|--------------|-------------|------------------------------|---|
| 1604 | Nizāms'āhī. | Haibat Khān in-charge of. | S.C.S.—1, Art. 2. (Haibat Khān said to be in charge for 18 years); S.C.S.— 5, Art. 760, p.4. Haibat Khān was in charge of Wāī and adjacent areas.) |

| | | | |
|----------------|------------|---|--|
| before 1610 | —do— | Vangojī Nim- bākar held it as his Mokā- sā. | S.C.S.—I, Art. 4 & 11. |
| 1610— 1613 | Ādils'āhī | Haibat Khān as the <i>Mokās- dār</i> . Probably this officer was Haibat Khān, the younger. | S.C.S.—I, Art. 7, 9 & 11. |
| 1613 | —do— | —do— | S.C.S.—I, Art, 7, 8, 13, 14, & 21 (p. 36.) |
| 1615 | —do— | —do— | S.C.S.—I, Art. 10 & 13 (p. 22) |
| 1617 | Nizāms'āhī | Kāji Husain Thānedār. | S.C.S.—I, 22, 34, & 36. (under the treaty made in Jan., 1617.) (S.C.S. —IV, Art. 689.) |
| 1618 | —do— | | S.C.S.—I, 24, 25, & 26. |
| 1620 | —do— | in the begin- ning of the year. | S.C.S.—I, Art. 1 & 8 |
| 1621 | Adils'āhī. | later Mullā Md. as the Mokāsdār with his agent, Rāyā Rāo. | S.C.S.—I, 19, 29, 34, 35, 36, & 96; <i>Ibid.</i> , 34, 35, 36, 37, & 39. |
| 1622 | Nizāms'āhī | S'āhjī as the <i>Mokāsdār</i> . | S.C.S.—I, 32, 33, & 35, |
| 1623 | —do— | —do— | S.C.S.—I, Art. 20 (p. 32) |
| 1624 | —do— | Vithojī Bhon- sle issuing orders to the parganā. | M.I.S.—XV, 397; S.C.S.—II, Art. 189. |

Shirwal and its adjacent areas were disputed between the Nizāms'āh and the Ādils'āh, (S.C.S.—IV, Art. 747, 748, 749 & 750; S.C.S.—I, 98.) during the period from 1618 to 1622 A.D., which was occupied by S'āhji by dint of his prowess.

2. In the year 1615 A.D., the Nizāms'āh, Kubt-s'āh, and Ādils'āh were combined against the Moghuls. (*Q.B.I.S.M.*—X,—1, 9: *M.A.D.S.*)
3. Among the persons present to give a decision on 1, dark fortnight, Mārgashirsha, Shaka 1540 (Dec., 1618) the name of Vithojī Sargurho, Chākan Parganā (S.C.S.—I, Art. 11) occurs. It seems that the person named is Vithojī Bhonsle, for, Mālojī and Vithojī were Sargurhos. (*M.I.S.*—XV, Art. 369 & 370.)

APPENDIX B

B. The History of Indāpur.

On this topic, a few references are available to throw light on it between 1600 and 1622 A.D. (S.C.S.—III, Art. 656 and 657). The study of these documents reveals that the Adils'āh attacked and took Indāpur in 1621 A.D. and assigned as *Mokāsā* to Mullā Muhammad, to whom other adjacent areas conquered then, were assigned. Mullā Muhammad stationed Rāyā Rāo as his agent there. Evidently, the Nizāms'āhī State was at war with the Adils'āh in 1621 A.D. and for one or two years following this year and also, probably, for a year or two preceding it. The battle of Indāpur took place certainly in the latter part of 1621, or, perhaps, in the early part of 1622 A.D.

APPENDIX C

The History of Poonā.

| Date | Régime | Remarks | Authority |
|------|------------|---------------------------------------|---|
| 1601 | Nizāms'āhī | Haibat Khān in charge of Poonā inclu- | S.C.S.—VII, 3 & 17. It has already been shown that, |

ding adjacent
areas.

Wāi was also
Nizāms'āhī but
transferred to the
Adils'āh who ap-
pointed the Nizām-
s'āhī officer to its
charge. This officer
looked after the
adjacent territory
also. Later on, the
Adils'āh appointed
his own officer,
but the former
arrangement regard-
ing Poonā Shir-
wal, Supā, etc.,
continued for some
time. Then, he
took over the ex-
clusive control over
Shirwal, probably
in 1613 A.D.

| | | | |
|------|------------|---|--|
| 1602 | Nizāms'āhī | Haibat Khān | <i>Q.B.I.S.M.—XI,</i> <i>—2, Art. 675;</i> <i>M.I.S., XVIII, Art.</i> <i>2.</i> |
| 1603 | —do— | —do— Miyā Rājū seems to be in the tem- porarily in charge of it. | <i>S.C.S.—VII, 4 &</i> <i>7.</i> |
| 1605 | —do— | Haibat Khān in charge. | <i>M.I.S.—XX, Art.</i> <i>225 & 226.</i> |
| 1606 | —do— | | <i>Ibid., Art. 230.</i> |
| 1607 | —do— | Perojdan as officer (?) | <i>S.C.S.—VII, Art.</i> <i>9.</i> |
| 1608 | —do— | Malik Amber in charge. | <i>S.C.S.—VII, Art.</i> <i>8 & 9.</i> |

| | | | |
|------|-----------|--|---|
| 1609 | -do- | Haibat Khān in charge. | S.C.S.—VII, Art. 55; M.I.S.—XV, Art. 375. (Lakhoji Rāje issuing or- ders.) |
| 1613 | -do- | -do- | Q.B.I.S.M.—I-2 & 3, Art. 1-3, pp. 34- 36. |
| 1616 | -do- | -do- | S.C.S.—I, Art. 2 & 3; Q.B.I.S.M.— II-1, 56 & 125; S.C.S.—VII, Art. 67 & pp. 5-7; M.I.S.—XV, Art. 381. |
| 1617 | -do- | -do- | Q.B.I.S.M.—II, 58-59; S.C.S.—II, 161; S.C.S.—IV, Art. 675. (Q.B.I.- S.M.—XI-2); S.C.S.—VII, Art. 7. |
| 1618 | -do- | Malik Am- bar's circular to all <i>ināmdā-</i> <i>rs</i> for the renewal of grants. Siddī Yāqūt Thāne- dār. | S.C.S.—VII, Art. 8; Q.B.I.S.M.— XII,-2, 13-14; S.L., 38-43; Q.B.I.S.M. —X-3, 120; S.C.S. —II, 114-15. |
| 1619 | -do- | Amzadal-ul- muluk as the <i>mokāsdār</i> . | S.C.S.—I, 25; S.C.S.—VII, Art. 9. |
| 1621 | Adils'āhī | Mullā Mu- hammad as the <i>mokāsdār</i> and Rāyā Rāo as his agent, | S.C.S.—I, 39; S.L., 38-43. |

| | | | |
|------|--|----------------------------|--|
| 1622 | -do- | -do- | <i>S.L.</i> , 38-43; <i>M.I.S.</i> —XV, 389 (Pendgaon.) & 391; <i>Q.B.I.S.M.</i> —XIX-4; <i>S.C.S.</i> —I, 114-15. |
| | (early part.) Nizāms'āhī (latter part Nizāms'āhī) | | |
| 1624 | Nizāms'āhī | Malik Ambar issues orders. | <i>Q.B.I.S.M.</i> —I, Art. 2 & 3 and p. 35. |
| 1625 | -do- | | <i>M.I.S.</i> —XV, Art. 395-398; <i>S.C.S.</i> —I, 40. |
| 1626 | -do- | | <i>S.C.S.</i> —I, 22. |

The dispute between the Nizāms'āhī State and the Adils'āh commenced in 1618 A.D. (*Q.B.I.S.M.*—XIV, Art. 747-750). Their relations became so much strained that the Adils'āh tried to bring about the death of Malik Ambar (*E.F.I.*-I, 315-17, dated the 25th Oct., 1621.) by getting him drowned in a tank and then by getting him poisoned by Mullā Muhammad. (*P.D.V.*, 221, dated 31st Oct., 1624) The Adils'āh failed in his attempts and Malik retaliated by waging war against the Bijāpur *sultān* and defeating him and the Moghul forces at the Battle of Bhātwādī before October, 1624 and capturing Mullā Muhammad, whom he paraded in the public and then killed. (*S.L.*, 39-40; *S.C.S.*-II, 114-5; *B.S.*, 412-13.)

APPENDIX D

The History of Supā:

| Date | Regime | Remarks | Authority |
|------|------------|-----------------------|---|
| 1617 | Nizāms'āhī | Yāqūt Khān in charge. | <i>Q.B.I.S.M.</i> —II, 1-4, 58. |
| 1618 | -do- | Malik Ambar referred. | <i>S.L.</i> , 38-43; <i>S.C.S.</i> —I, 24 & 28. |
| 1619 | -do- | Yāqūt Khān in charge. | <i>Q.B.I.S.M.</i> —II, Art. 3, <i>M.I.S.</i> —XX, Art. 6. |

| | | | |
|------|----------------------|---|---|
| 1620 | -do- | | <i>M.I.S.</i> -XX, 41 & 69. |
| 1621 | Ādils'āhī | Mullā Mu- hammad as the <i>mokāsdār</i> , Rāyā Rāo his agent. | <i>S.C.S.</i> -I, 34; <i>S.L.</i> , 38-43. |
| 1622 | -do- (early part) | -do- | <i>S.L.</i> , 38-43; <i>S.C.S.</i> —I, 14, 16, 17 & 20. |
| 1623 | Nizāms'āhī | Haibat Khān in charge. | <i>M.I.S.</i> —XX, Art. 47. |

Even in this territory the Adils'āh waged war against the Nizāms'āhī State in the years 1621-22 A.D., and the area was liberated from the Adils'āhī occupation in 1622 or 1623 A.D. (*S.C.S.*—I, 98.)

Manifestly, in the year 1621 A.D., the Adils'āh overran the southern frontier of the Nizāms'āhī dominion both from the land as well as the sea right upto the Bhīmā River, to the west of which stands Indāpur and also occupied, probably, some chunks of the Nizāms'āhī territory to the east of it. In the beginning on the western side the limits of the Nizāms'āhī were much to the south of Chāul but in April, 1624, the southern limits was marked by the port of Chāul and to its south extended the Adils'āhī dominion. (*P.D.V.*, 72., *M.I.S.*—XVI, Art. 7, dated the 6th July, 1618; *S.C.S.*—II, Art. 249, dated the 12th Feb., 1619; *E.F.I.*—I, 287, dated the 5th Oct., 1621 and 315-17 dated the 25th Oct., 1621.). The Adils'āh was expelled from the tracts occupied by him and, therefore, he seems to have a temporary peace with Malik Ambar (*E.F.I.*—II, 49, dated the 26th Feb., 1622), as he could not secure the necessary and anticipated help from the Moghul Emperor on account of S'āhjahān's rebellious activities. The war against Malik Ambar was opened up again by the Adils'āh in the summer of 1624 A.D. (*M.I.S.*—XVI, Art. 11, dated the 7th May, 1624.), which terminated in the battle of Bhātawādī before October of that year. In this decisive battle, both the Adils'āhī and Moghul forces were utterly routed. In a nutshell, *the year 1621 A.D., witnessed the general*

attack of Ādils'āhī troops on the Nizāms'āhī territory along its southern frontiers, put. S'āhjī boldly put the invaders at bay and frustrated their evil designs. (S.C'S.—I, 98.)

CHRONOLOGY

| Event | Date (A.D.) | Authority/ Authorities. |
|--|--------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Malik Ambar's naval expedition against surat | 1617 | Bocarro, Ch. CLXXII |
| 2. Kānadkhore wrested by Malik Ambar from Ādils'āh. | Before Nov., 1617. | M.J.S.-XVI, Art. 16. |
| 3. Retrocession of <i>Paraganā</i> of Shirwal to Nizāms'āh. | Before Nov., 1617. | <i>Ibid.</i> |
| 4. Mohammad <i>Āmin ahas</i> Mīr Jumla entered into Moghul service. | March, 1618. | T.J.-II, 3-4. |
| 5. Ādils'āh incited by Jahāngir to lay hands on Nizāms'āhī and Kutubs'āhī territories. | March, 1618. | T.J.-II, 36-37. |
| 6. <i>Tape</i> of Kānadkhore annexed by Ādils'āh. | July, 1618. | M.J.S.-XVI, Art. 7. |
| 7. Wrangles between Malik Ambar and Adils'āh. | Middle of 1618. | <i>Ibid.</i> |
| 8. Barīds'āhī kingdom annexed by Ādils'āh, | 1619. | B.S., 409 |
| 9. 'Khandāgale incident.' | Before Nov., 1619. | S.B., Ch. III. (date not mentioned.) |

- | | | |
|--|---------------------|---------------------------------|
| 10. Forcible seizure of Poona, Supā & Indāpur. | End of 1619. | S.C.S.-I,34, 97-8; S.L., 38-43. |
| 11. The confederacy of the Deccan Sultans. ('grand alliance') | Early 1619. | |
| 12. Kutubs'āh's flattery of Jahāngir. | 1619. | T.J.-II, 90 |
| 13. Malik Ambar and his allies invaded Moghul territory. | May, 1619. | B.S., 409. |
| 14. Khanjar Khān placed in charge of Ahmed nagar. | 1619. | T.J.-II, 112; F.R.S.- I,24. |
| 15. Jahāngir in Kās'mir. | March, 1620, | T.J.-II, 130. |
| 16. The Plunder of English caravan by Deccan forces. | Before March, 1620. | F.R.S.-I,29. |
| 17. The forces of Malik Ambar and his allies near Mehkar, accompanied by Malojī. | About June, 1620. | Q.B.I.S.M-IV,48-49. |
| 18. End of Kāngdā Campaign. | Nov., 1620. | E.D.-VI, 517-31. |
| 19. Ś'āhjahan's departure from Lāhore to Deccan. | Dec., 1620. | T.J.-II, 190. |
| 20. The destruction of Khadakī. | 1621. | T.J.-II, 206-8; E.D.-V., 379. |
| 21. Adils'āh's capture of Indāpur. | 1621. | S.C.S.-III, Art. 656 and 657. |
| 22. Treaty of peace made by Deccan Sultāns with Moghul emperor. | May, 1621. | T.J.-II, 188-90 & 206-8. |
| 23. Poonā captured by Adils'āh. | About Sept., 1621. | S.C.S.-I, 39; S.L., 38-43. |

| | | |
|--|-------------------------------|------------------------|
| 24. Shirwāl captured by Adils'ah. | About Oct., 1621. | S.C.S.-I, 34, |
| 25. Efforts of Adils'ah's agent to end Malik Ambar's life. | Oct., 1621. | E.F.I.-I, 315-17. |
| 26. Defection of Jādhav Rao of Sindkhed to Mōghuls. | Before Nov., | Ibid., 318. |
| 27. Mālojī's death. | End of 1621 or Early in 1622. | S.C.S.-I, 30 & 98. |
| 28. The battle of Indāpur. | -do- | Ibid. |
| 29. Supā captured by S'āhjī. | Early in 1622. | S.C.S.-I, 32, 33 & 35. |
| 30. S'āhjahān's Revolt. | latter half of 1622. | F.P.V.K., 63-6. |
| 31. Malik Ambar's agent Alis'er sent to Mahābat Khān. | About March, 1623. | T.J.-II, 296. |
| 32. Jādhav Rāo joined the rebellious S'āhjahān. | Oct., 1623. | T.J.-II, 279-80 |

Reference and Notes

1. T.J.-II, 3-4.

Mīr Jumlā was the title conferred on Mohammad Āmin by his royal master, Mohammad Qulikutbutmulk who died in 1612 A.D. Mohammad Qulikutbutmulk was succeeded by his brother's son who did not treat Mīr Jumlā well. Mīr Jumlā left the Kutbs'āh's service and went to Persia from where he was enrolled into the Moghul service at his request. In conformity with the policy of enticing renegades from the Deccan *Sultāns*. Jahāngīr welcomed Mīr Jumlā into his service. In pursuit of this policy. Jahāngīr had been guided by an earnest desire to obtain intimate details about the political affairs and activities of the Deccan *Sultanates*, (*Ibid.*)

2. *Ibid.*, 90.

3. See *infra*

4. *M.I.S.*-XVI, Art. 6, dated the 10th Nov., 1617; *P.S.S.*, 80.
 येसीयामध्ये समान असर अलफ मुलूक मुलुखानि हजरती साहेवास दिला...हजरती साहेवास अजाती जाला आहे" (*S.C.S.*-I,22)
 "यावरी मुलूकाचा मुली होउन वेदलशाय्या खालून सुदोन हेवतखाना चे वजावद होऊन हजरती च मुलूक अजाती जाहाला" (*Ibid*, 36)
5. *Ibid.*, 25.
6. *T.J.*-II, 36-7.
7. *M.I.S.*-XVI, Art. 7; *P.S.S.*, 88.
8. *T.J.*-II, 36-7.
9. *S.C.S.*-I, *Introduction*, 15.
10. *B.S.*, 409; *H.L.D.*, 101.
11. Refer Ch. 6; *B.G. Tamaskar*: Malik Ambar and the Portuguese. *J.R.O.* R.S. XXXIII—1 & 2, 1947.)
12. *S.C.S.*-I, 34, 97-8; *S.L.*, 38-43.
13. *M.I.S.*-XVI, Art. 6.
14. The reconquest of the territory, after the battle of Bhātawādī.
15. *91-Q.B.*, 20; *S.B.*, Ch. II, Verse 1, The author of *S.B.* says that S'āhji was a child of 5 years at the time of his father's death. It cannot be understood how a child of this age could be entrusted the task of leading a campaign against the Ādils'āh's officer.
- 15a. The 91-Qalamī Bakhar states; "When S'āhji was of twenty-five years of age, both the elders (*i.e.*, father and uncle) died." (p. 20). There is a landgrant of Māloji extant to bear testimony to the fact he was alive till 1621 A.D. (*Q.B.I. S.M.*-IV, 49.)
16. *S.C.S.*-I, 30; 98.
17. J.N. Sarkār maintains that S'āhji was a petty captain during the regency of Maik Ambar and he first rose to the independent and high command only under Fath Khān (son of Malik Ambar). (*Modern Review*, Sept., 1917; *The House of Shivaji*, 35-6.). In the light of the evidence adduced here, the view of the learned scholar is invalidated and needs to be revised. It passes one's comprehension as to how S'āhji could be entertained to fill in the void created by Mullā Muhammad's death in the Ādils'āhi service and conferred the lofty title of 'Sarlashkar', immediately after the battle of Bhātawādī, if he had not displayed his abilities and capacity in a high post in the Nizāms'āhi kingdom on a previous occasion.
18. *E.F.I.*-I, 315-17, dated the 25th Oct., 1621.
19. *S.B.*, Ch. III.
20. *T.J.*-II, 218; *E.F.I.*-I, 332 (dated the 18th Nov., 1621.)
21. *M.H.I.*, 78 : confirmed by *Maāsir-ul-Umrā*.
- 21a. Bocarro; ch. CLXXII.
22. Refer Ch. 6.
23. *T.J.*-II, 112; *W.J.* (*E-D.*-VI, 371.); *F.R.S.*-I, 9. (Nov., 29, 1620)
24. *B.S.*, 409, *E.G.M.*, 197. *B.S.* mentions that Malik Ambar started the war in A.H. 1029, which began in Dec., 1619 and Malik Ambar had occupied the southern frontiers of the imperial territory in that year. De

Laet's writing also tends to give impression that the war with Moghuls started in 1619 A.D. (*E.G.M.*, 109.),

The end of Kāngdā campaign—Nov., 1620. The Mogbul and invading forces spent the following time at the places mentioned below before S'āhjahān's arrival at Burhānpur:

- (i) Mehkar—3 months.
- (ii) Bālāpur—4 months.
- (iii) Burhānpur—6 months.

Total 1 Yr. 1 month.

Deducting this period from Nov., 1620 we arrive, at the opening of Malik Ambar's campaign against the Mogbuls in Oct., 1619 A.D. The victory of the Moghuls against the confederates of the Deccan *Sultāns* occurred in May, 1621. (*T.J.*, 206). However, it is recorded that the imperial servants had been contending with the 'rebels' for two years which indicates that the war started some time in May, 1619.

25. Rohindkhed (Mahārāstrā Grām Kosh, Vol I., 212), "a village situated a few miles north of Buldānā, seems to have held in Berar in former days relatively the position held by Pānipat in Northern India. It was a town situated on the high road from north to south, commanding the ascent of the Bālāghat or, the tableland of southern Berar." (*H.L.D.* 162.)
26. An Abyssinian, Masūr by name, had fallen into the hands of Rājā Bir Singh Deo who proposed to put him on an elephant but he did not agree. The Rājā ordered his head to be severed from his body. (*I.N.*, 161, the text wrongly has 'zir' meaning under; *T.J.*-II, 155-6.). In the 'English Factories in India', there is a reference, to Mansūr Khān who fled from Khadākī to the Prince S'āhjahān in Sept., 1621.
27. Mehkar is situated about 64 kms s.w. of Bālāpur.
28. *T.J.*-II, 185; *Subh-Falah-i-Kangrā*. (*E.D.*-VI., 517-31.).
29. Refer to Ch. 6.
30. *T.J.*-II, 190.
31. This seems to be a hyperbole. De Laet observes in this connection that "the palace of Ambar was razed to the ground and vast amounts of booty was captured." (*E.G.M.*, 198.).
32. *T.J.*-II, 188-90 and 206-8.
33. There are two writs issued to Udārām Deshpānde by Māloji under his own signatures at Khedle, close to Mehkar. The first one was issued in June, 1620 (Rajab, 1hidi) which points to the conclusion that the combined army of the Deccan confederates had reached Mehkar about that time. It has already been said that Maloji, after his return from this campaign, went to the battle of Indāpur towards the end of 1621 or early in 1622 A.D. (*Q.B.I.S.M.*-IV, 48-9.). In Dec., 1621 A.D. Bir Singh Deo issued an identical writ to Udārām Deshpānde. This bears an evidence to the fact that the Parganā of Khedle was taken back by the Moghuls prior to Dec., 1621. A.D. which had been overrun by the Deccan army. The *Jāgir* of Māloji was conferred upon S'āhji in 1621-22 A.D. (*T.I.*)

34. *S.G.*-I, Pt. 1, 61. Dr. Bālkrishna does not cite any authority in support of his opinion. But, the successful expulsion of Rāyā Rāo, Ādils'ah's agent from Indāpur bears testimony to the military genius of S'āhji.
35. *F.P.V.K.*, 63-66 contains a letter of Jahāngir to Khurram and its reply. (Translated by S.K. Basu in the volume of *Studies in Indology*, edited by S.M. Kātre and P.K. Gode.)
36. *T.J.*-II, 296.
37. *Ibid.*

The Battle of Bhāt-wādi and Its Aftermaths

Both Malik Ambar and the Ādils'āh made strenuous efforts to win over the Moghul Emperor to their sides in the latter part of 1623 A.D. They were resolved to fight each other out. Ultimately, Jabāngīr decided to throw his weight on the side of the supplicating and reliable Ādils'āh who deputed Mullā Muhammad with a chosen body of forces to be in attendance for service at Burhānpur. Mahābat Khān awaited the arrival of the Ādils'āhī general with anxiety so that he could be relieved of the care for maintaining order in the neighbourhood of the city. These circumstances broke into a conflagration, culminating in the battle at Bhāt-wādi.

I. Antecedents:

Early in 1624 A.D., Malik Ambar had set out to the frontiers of the Kutub-ul-Mulk (Golcondā) to receive the annual tribute for the payment of his army. This tribute had been in arrears for the last two years. On receipt of the tribute, he obtained from the ruler of Golcondā a pledge of security, by means of treaty and oath. With an assurance of safety, he marched upon Bīdar and plundered it. The Ādils'āh had kept his forces in readiness in that territory, but, they were taken by surprise, as they were unprepared for the unexpected invasion of Malik Ambar. From there Malik Ambar marched against Bijāpur. The Ādils'āh had despatched his best troops and officers with Mullā Muhammad Lārī to Burhānpur and unable to offer resistance to the invader, he shut himself up in the fortress of Bijāpur and left no stone unturned to make the place

secure. In the meantime, he sent for Muhammad Lārī and his forces at Burhānpur.¹ At this time, the Moghul Emperor was engaged in the suppression of the rebellious activities of his son, Prince Khurram. Malik Ambar seized this opportunity to raise his head against the traditional and mortal enemies of the Nizāms'āhī dynasty.

It has already been noted that the Ādils'āh had made an offer of his submission to the Moghul Emperor in token whereof he had placed the services of Mullā Muhammad Lārī at the disposal of the imperial overlord.²

At this juncture, the Ādils'āh deputed his confidential agent, Mullā Muhammad Lārī at Nālchā in the *tāluka* of Mandū to secure assistance from Parwīz against Malik Ambar. The Prince received the Ādils'āhī agent well and accorded him a warm welcome. He stayed at that place for him for three days and acceded to the earnest request of the Ādils'āh.³ Mahābat Khān also agreed to relieve Mullā Muhammad Lārī of his duties to proceed against Malik Ambar. Lashkar Khān and all the āmirs of the Deccan started with Mullā Muhammad Lārī to face Malik Ambar.⁴

When the startling news of the alliance of the Moghuls with the Ādils'āhī forces against him reached Malik Ambar, he wrote to the Imperial officers, asserting his loyalty to the Imperial throne, and asking that Nizāms'āh and Ādils'āh might be allowed to settle their old differences without interference. Though Malik Ambar had entered into a treaty with the Moghuls whereby he agreed to return all the Moghuls outposts occupied by him, no attention was paid to his protests and remonstrances.⁵ At Nauraspur, he negotiated for peace with the Ādils'āh. His endeavours bore no fruit. He had "spared no effort to avoid war."⁶ At this time, an epidemic broke out in the army of the Nizāms'āhī which took a toll of 500 horses in a single night.

It became impossible for Malik Ambar to keep away from the impending engagements, as "the more submissive and importunate he became, the more Muhammad Lārī tried to humble him, and the harder he pressed him."⁷ This unconciliatory and uncompromising attitude of Mullā Muhammad Lārī led Pietro

Della Valle, probably, to the conclusion that he fomented ill-will and sowed the seeds of discord between the Ādils'āh and the Nizāms'āhī protector. The vein of his writing clearly indicates that he was apt to put all the blame at the door of Mullā Muhammad Lārī whom he considered to be the miscreant and war-monger.⁸ To some extent, the judgement of the foreign traveller seems to be well-grounded.

Another important incident in the political affairs of the Deccan appears to have precipitated the inevitable conflict. Mahāldārkhān, Ādamkhān, and S'āhjī Bhoṣle, powerful *sardārs* in the Nizāms'āhī dominion, shook off their allegiance from the sovereign and accepted service in the Imperial army. These Nizāms'āhī *sardārs* felt restive under the assertive powers of Malik Ambar against whom they made a common cause to bring about his ruin and destruction. The discontented *sardārs* used to say "where can Ambar flee from us? We shall bring him away mounted on a Kālkā (Male buffalo) which was an expression describing the greatest disgrace that can be inflicted on a man in the Deccan."⁹ This desertion took place sometime before March, 1624 A.D.¹⁰ Not long after the defection, out of the leading *sardārs*, S'āhjī seems to have changed his mind and came back to the former services of the Nizāms'āh, while most of the deserted *sardārs* did not return and some of them seem to have taken an active part in the battle of Bhāt-wādī. The tactful and sagacious Nizāms'āhī protector, Malik Ambar, looking to the needs of the fateful hour, welcomed him back.

Ibrāhīm Ādils'āh and his officers deemed this as a befitting opportunity to avenge the conquest of Poonā which had been effected by Malik Ambar in 1620 A.D. Moreover, the growing power and influence of Malik Ambar proved a great menace to the Ādils'āhī sovereign. His outlying territory was exposed to the frequent and unexpected inroads of the Nizāms'āhī protector.

Pietro Della Valle traces one of the causes of the battle to an interesting conspiracy of one of the principal wives of Ibrāhīm Ādils'āh. She was executed, points out the foreign traveller, "for conspiracy which she said to hold with Malik, and for having been a party in promoting this war, out of de-

sign to remove Adil-Sciah from the Government as one who became odious to his own people, either through his covetousness, or inability (being infirm) and to place his son in his room, who therefore was in danger too of being put to death by his father when the conspiracy was discovered." "There is no reference to such a conspiracy in any other contemporary historical works. It cannot be corroborated how Malik Ambar could exert influence on the inmates of Ibrāhīm Ādils'āh's harem. It may be noted that most of the observations of this traveller were based on hearsay.

The allies of Malik Ambar were Balāl Rājā of Karnātak and Sīnrāj, the *naik* of Bedar.¹² The Nizāms'āhī premier rushed out of the Bijāpur Kingdom with his troops to Bhātawādī and gave them respite in its strong fortress.

II. *The Site of The Battlefield :*

The village of Bhātawādī is situated on parallel of 20° 34' North and the meridian of 75° 36' East, 10 miles (5 kos, south-east of Ahmadnagar) in a hilly tract, well-suited for the guerrilla tactics. Malik Ambar was shrewd enough to dictate the place of battle in order that he may have distinct and superior advantage over his opponents.

III. *The description of The Battle :*

Malik Ambar flooded the vicinity of the fortress by letting out water from the tank of Bhātawādī. This impeded the advance of the large Moghul army.

This also served to undermine the power of the Moghul army. Though Malik Ambar's forces had been far outnumbered by the combined armies of the Imperialists and the Ādils'āh, he reposed his trust and confidence in the Providence. The Moghul army was headed by Ikhlas Khān.

As Malik Ambar had sought refuge and safety in the fortress of Bhātawādī, Sarlashkar Mullā Muhammad Lārī, the commandant of the Ādils'āhī contingent, returned to Bijāpur. The Ādils'āh honoured the Abyssinian, Ikhlas Khān and other

two or three military peers of the Moghul army. This caused dissension in the ranks of the Moghul *sardārs*. Despite Mullā Muhammad Lārī's entreaties to honour the Moghul *sardārs*, Ibrāhīm Ādil'sāh did nothing in this behalf which alienated the sympathy of the Moghul army.

On account of heavy rains, there was swampy ground in all the adjoining country. The food supply of the Moghuls and the Ādil'sāh was considerably reduced. Even for two to three days in a week, it was not possible to provide fodder for animals. No energy was left in men and animals for further movement and activity. Reduced to such extreme straits, Mullā Muhammad Lārī implored his royal master to send fresh supplies of food and provide him with money to conduct the battle. But the convoy of food could not proceed boldly and uninterrupted on account of the terror of Malik Ambar's soldiers. During this period, many of the Moghuls deserted to Malik Ambar due to arrears of pay and want of provisions. He extended his honour and respect to these deserters and gave them food and entertained them in his service. The kind treatment, meted out to the deserters, encouraged others to flee to him at night and Malik Ambar eagerly awaited their arrival. Once, Malik Ambar marched out with a cavalry of ten thousand horse and carried out a night attack on the Moghul camp and returned to his place in the following morning. This was subsequently repeated on several nights which caused alarm among his opponents. They could neither sleep peacefully at night nor take rest at day-time. Nobody dared to escort the convoys of money and provisions to the battle-field, though Mullā Muhammad Lārī made very serious efforts to prevail on others. At length, he commanded Āmīn Mustafā Khān on this difficult task and exhorted his army leaders not to weaken themselves. Mustafā Khān accompanied by Khāskhel brought money and provisions in safety within a few stages of the tank.

Ambar's power and influence increased day by day and the Moghuls grew weak with the lapse of time. He made several surprise attacks and pillaged the Moghul camp. The opposing armies were encamped within six to ten kms of distance from each other. Every day skirmishes took place between them.

At last, Ambar moved out with the Nizāms'āhī banners and encamped his army in front of the Moghul forces. The Moghul army was encumbered with several odds, while Ambar had no such embarrassment. Famine, hunger, discord, two languages, and heavy rains added to the miseries, sufferings and hardships of the Moghul army which compelled it to seek safety in ignominious flight to Ahmadnagar and Burhānpur. The fleeing army was hotly pursued by the Nizāms'āhī *sardārs* and troops. Bloody and highly contested fights occurred, in which large hosts of Malik Ambar's opponents were cut down.

One day, Mullā Muhammad, after going to the tent of the Moghul *sardār*, Sipāhdārkhān complained to the latter against soldiers and officers. On this, Sipāhdārkhān retorted, "we are warriors; we are not afraid of death or retreat. The condition of the army is unsatisfactory. Ahmadnagar is only 2 or 3 kos (from here), we shall take refuge in that fort. On hearing this Mullā Muhammad Lāri replied that he must die a martyr."¹³

The Ādils'āhī flags began to fly and a messenger was sent to Ikhlāskhān by Mullā Muhammad to be summoned.

Afterwards, like a brave warrior, Ikhlāskhān set out for Ahmadnagar. Mullā Muhammad on approaching Ikhlāskhān observed that the army had been completely worsted from the field and the enemy was busy in plunder and slaughter.

Now, Ikhlāskhān sent Yākūtkhān who had to open negotiation for the cessation of hostilities. At this Mullā Muhammad uttered: "You summoned me to fight but now you advise surrender." Ikhlāskhān returned a reply sneeringly, "You have laid waste our country and now you do not assent to negotiate for peace and safety." Being flared up with indignation, Mullā Muhammad plunged himself into the thick of the battle with 3 or 4 men and was killed in the action by some soldiers from behind.¹⁴

IV. The Date of the battle :

The date of the battle has nowhere been mentioned very definitely except in the *Jedhe Śakāvalī* which states 'Kārtik Ś'aka, 1546', corresponding to October, 1624; but this date

seems to err by about a month. For, Pietro Della Valle mentions in his account of travels under the date of 31 Oct., 1624 that the Ādils'āh had been defeated, his general Mullā Muhammad had been taken prisoner and Malik Ambar had rushed to the very gates of Bijāpur within which fort the Ādils'āh had shut himself up.¹⁵ It may be said in this connection that Bijāpur must be about 320 kms from Ahmadnagar, and Goa must be about 320 kms from Bijapur. Some 15 days have to be allowed for the march of troops from Ahmadnagar to Bijāpur and about 25 days for the news to reach from Bijāpur to Goa ordinarily in those days. Deducting 40 days from 31 October, 1624, the date works out to be 10th or 11th September, 1624, when the battle is likely to have occurred. The *Futūhāt-Ādils'āhī* mentions that "the rainy season invested the ground with mantle of water,"¹⁶ which serves to confirm the date inferred here. The *Busātīn-us-Sabātīn* mentions the *Hijārī* 1033¹⁷ and also *Hijārī* 1034¹⁸ in the same edition. This discrepancy can be in a way reconciled. The *Hijārī* Year 1033 ended on the 6th or 7th of October. The actual battle should have taken place in September, as indicated above but Nauraspur should have been desolated in the beginning of the *Hijārī* Year, 1034.¹⁹

It also may be pointed out that Kānhoji Jedhe had been commissioned by Malik Ambar to march against the fort of Kalenjā (Manmohangad) which was captured in October, 1624 A.D.²⁰ Since Malik Ambar must have been obliged to concentrate all his might against the triple alliance at Bbāt-wādī, he could hardly think of deploying his forces elsewhere at that time. Normally, the conquest of Kalenjā must have followed his triumph at Bhāt-wādī against the formidable combination of three hostile states. Obviously, the battle of Bhāt-wādī preceded the conquest of Kalenjā, effected in October, 1624.

V. *The role of Bhonsle sardārs in the battle :*

All the contemporary Persian Court Chroniclers have thrown a veil on the significant role of the Hindū nobles and commanders. They tried generally to avoid giving any references to their great deeds and distinguished acts. It is no wonder that *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, *Iqbāl-nāmā*, *Busātīn-us-salātīn* and *Futū-*

hāt-i-Ādils'āhī are quite silent on the distinctive services rendered by S'āhjī and other Hindū *sardārs* in this battle. The Marāthī Bakhar writers were familiar with the fact that S'āhjī took a leading part in this battle.²¹ But about the date and the parties of the battle their account is wholly unhistorical. However, *S'iva-Bhārat*, *Rādhā-Mādhav-Vilās-Champoo* and the Marāthī historical inscription on the Sri. Brihadees warswāmī Temple at Tanjor throw a flood of light on the role of S'āhjī in the battle. It is evident that the accounts of the battle recorded by the Persian historians must be supplemented by the historical data available in Marāthī in order to fill in the above-mentioned gap in the history of the Deccan. S'āhjī encountered Manchehar, the Moghul Āmir and put him to flight. The shallow reader of history is apt to exaggerate the energy displayed by Malik Ambar. Rājwāde's version in respect of the part played by S'āhjī in contributing to the success of Malik Ambar is quite convincing. The triumph of the engagement must be attributed to the valour and tactics of S'āhjī and other Bhonsle *sardārs*.²² Malik Ambar was already in his seventies with feeble intellectual and physical powers left to cope with the strenuous task of leading an army against a powerful combination. S'āhjī with his vigour of youth conducted the campaign. The Tanjore inscription reveals that the Nizāms'āh lavished great honour and unusual respect on S'āhjī.²³ That exhibited exceptional ability on the battlefield of Bhāt-wādī is further supported by the fact that the Ādils'āh at once appointed him to the high and responsible post of *Sarlashkar*, on his defection, after this battle. His uncommon capacity for military tactics and generalship must have attracted the attention of the Ādils'āh.

In this connection, J.N. Sarkār remarks: "S'āhjī first saw service probably as the commander of the small contingent of his family under the banners of Malik Ambar. He must have been a petty captain during the regency of Malik Ambar, who died on 14th May, 1626, when S'āhjī was about 31 years old. S'āhjī's name is not mentioned even once in the autobiography of Jahāngīr and the other Persian histories of the Mughal wars in the Deccan during that monarch's reign (1605-1627), though many other Marāthā captains are noticed. Even the Bijāpur

Historian, Fuzūnī Astrābādī is silent about him in the body of his book, though some one has added the word S'āhjī in the margin of the British Museum manuscript of this work in relating the battle of Bhātwādī (1624)."²⁴ The learned scholar seems to doubt the golden laurels won by S'āhjī on the famous battlefield of Bhātwādī. In view of the facts mentioned above, the opinion seems to be hardly tenable.²⁵

Prior to this incident, S'arīfjī Bhonsle was killed in an action while encountering the elephant of Manchehar in concert with other Bhonsle including S'āhjī. S'arīfjī displayed considerable ability in the contest on this occasion,²⁶ and died a heroic death.

It has already been mentioned that Jādhav Rāo and Udārām were deserters from the Nizāms'āhī army. S'āhjī had gone over to the Moghuls for a short time under S'āh Nawāz Khān in 1624.²⁷ However, his desertion to the Moghuls was short-lived since the Moghul chief, S'āh Nawāz Khān failed to give him security and protection. Malik Ambar had to receive back S'āhjī into his service out of expediency of the time. But, after termination of the conflict, Malik Ambar retaliated on S'āhjī for his infidelity and showed favour to his cousins, who remained loyal throughout. This obliged S'āhjī to quit the service of the Nizāms'āhī and seek his fortune in the Ādils'āhī court.

Fuzūnī-Astrābādī mentions in the list of deserters the name of Bābājī Kāte.²⁸ It may be borne in mind that Bābājī Kāte had breathed his last in the year 1616.²⁹ It is apparent that the entry of his name is without any warrant in history.

The battle had ended in a "perfect rout."³⁰ The powerful combination of the Ādils'āh, the Moghuls and the Kutbs'āh sustained a heavy and crushing defeat at the hands of Malik Ambar. The forces of Ādils'āh and Moghuls were scattered in all directions and sought safety in flight. They were trekked down in hot pursuit and many of the leading chiefs were made captives and kept in prisons or executed. Ikhlāskhān, Lashkar-khān and some other chiefs of the Imperil forces were made prisoners.³¹ About twenty officers including Randullāh Khān, Ākaskhān, Rustum Rāo, Khairiyat Khān, Ambarkhān and

Farhād Khān made good their escape from their incarceration after a few days and made their way to Bijāpur.³² Randullāh Khān and Farhād Khān seem to have entertained into the Nizāms'āhī service a little later. The rest of the military leaders followed to their graves in their prisons. The *Iqbāl-nāmā* mentions that Farhād Khān was executed after incarceration, since he designed to end the life of Malik Ambar. This statement appears to be far from truth as "*Siva-Bhārat*" refers to Farhād Khān in connection with the battle of Belsar (1648).³³ Khānjarkhān with strenuous efforts escaped to Ahmadnagar. Jān-Siphārkhān retired to Bīr, which was in his *jāgir*, and set the fort in order, and other fugitives fled for their lives to Burhānpur and Ahmadnagar.

VI. *The importance of the battle:*

The triple alliance had brought the Nizāms'āhī to the brink of its extinction. Malik Ambar came out successful in the battle beyond his expectations. The success was due not merely to a lucky chance but to his superior military strategy and tactics: "Of long patient manoeuvring or contriving an inescapable trap in which the Mughal and Bijāpurī forces were caught."³⁴ He dictated the field of battle which brought him triumph ultimately. The victory at the battle-field rolled back the tide of Moghul conquest in the Deccan and saved the Nizāms'āhī Kingdom from its immediate dissolution and annexation to the Moghul empire. It gave the Kingdom a fresh lease of a short life. It immensely enhanced the prestige of Malik Ambar throughout the length and breadth of India. Even, S'āhjabān, who was a rebel against his father, eagerly sought Malik Ambar's help and cooperation. Evidently, it is to be reckoned as one of the most important historic landmarks in the annals of the Deccan in the seventeenth century.

VII. *Other conquests:*

Malik Ambar kept his enemies engaged on more than one front so that they could not throw their full weight against him at a place, while he had met his bitter and determined enemies

on the field of Bhāt-wādī he despatched Kānhoji Jedhe against the fort of Kalenjā (Manmoliangad),³⁵ which was captured by esalade.³⁶ The '*Jedhe Kareenā*' does not mention the date of this event, but it appears that Kānhoji launched his expedition against Krishṇājī Bandal Desmukh in September, 1624 and seems to have brought the vicinity of the fort under his control in October, 1624 after a bloody struggle in which many men were slain on both sides.³⁷

VIII. *The aftermaths of the battle:*

S'āhjī's desertion:

S'āhjī deserted from the Nizāms'āhī service to the Ādil'sāhī service almost immediately after the battle of Bhāt-wādī.³⁸ The exact cause of his desertion is not yet correctly known for want of historical evidence on this point. G.S. Sardesai surmises that the desertion took place due to the forfeiture of his *jāgir*,³⁹ There appears to be no positive evidence for this statement. Dr. Bālkrishṇa observes in this connection: "In the campaigns against Sholāpur and Nāuraspur the Bhonsles performed signal services but instead of giving S'āhjī due honour and dignity, the Nāzāms'āhī government rewarded his cousins for the victory."⁴⁰ It will do well to note that S'āhjī had already left the Nizāms'āhī service long before the campaign against Sholāpur and Nauraspur.⁴¹

IX. *Malik Ambar's last days:*

After the battle of Bhāt-wādī, Malik Ambar did not remain inactive. He followed up his success by equally splendid military exploits. He despatched the captives of the battle to Daulatābād and marched to lay siege to the fortress of Ahmad-nagar where refugees had sought shelter. Although he had brought his guns and pressed the siege, his efforts proved abortive. He left a division of his army to press the siege and hastened towards Bijāpur.⁴²

Malik Ambar set out with an army of 50 to 60 thousand horse to the frontier of the Ādils'āh. At this time, the suburb

of Nauraspur was populous and flourishing. The city-wall had not been yet completed. Ambar seized this opportunity to carry fire and sword and laid it waste. Ibrāhīm Ādils'āh II left Nauraspur to fix his residence at Bijāpur. Nauraspur became a deserted place. Ambar proceeded against Bijāpur with little or no resistance. He also brought destruction to Bijāpur.⁴⁹ He occupied all the Ādils'āhī territory as far as the frontiers of the Moghul emperor in the Bālāghāt.⁴⁴

After his desertion, S'āhji began to act as an independent chief in his *Jāgir* of Shirwal, Poonā and *Karyāt* Pātas.⁴⁵ S'ābājī Anant inflicted a terrible defeat on S'āhji.⁴⁶ S'ābājī Anant had been deputed with the express purpose of dislodging S'āhji from his possessions. Early in 1625, Ambar brought his guns from Daulatābād and captured Sholāpur by storm.⁴⁷ For investing the fort of Sholāpur, Malik Ambar brought the largest cannon known to the people of that age from Daulatābād.⁴⁸ It formerly belonged to the Ādils'āh from whom Malik Ambar secured it as a war prize. S'āhji's forces were held up at the pass of Sālpā in December.⁴⁹ Kānadkhore Maral Des'mukh had been serving under S'ābājī Anant with 300 soldiers against the Ādils'āh. Kānhoji Junjar Rāo was killed in this engagement.⁵⁰

Malik Ambar had sent a detachment to launch an expedition also into the Imperial territory against Burhānpur. Yāqūt Khān was commissioned on this campaign to the north. He was accompanied and assisted by S'āhjahān, who had raised the standard of revolt against his father. The city had been taken and the assailants had been within measurable distance of success in capturing the fort also. On the approach of fresh Moghul reinforcements, the investment was called off and the Nizāms'āhī forces retired into their territory.⁵¹

Early in 1625, Dābhol was wrested from the Ādils'āhī territory and annexed to the Nizāms'āhī Kingdom.⁵²

It was after this, probably, in February or March, 1626, that S'āhjahān took shelter at Junnar under the protection of Malik Ambar.⁵³ Before he did this, he seems to have conveniently disposed off Parwīz,⁵⁴ whom he carried with himself all the time he wandered from place to place, after his rebellion in the summer of 1622 A.D.

X. Malik Ambar's death :

While still occupied with military operations, Malik Ambar, worn out with infirmities of old age, heavy exertions and privations of campaigns paid his debt to nature on 11th May, 1626, at the ripe old age of 80 years.⁵⁵ His peaceful death came when he was at the zenith of his fame, glory and power.

There appears to be a controversy among a number of historians as to the burial place or places of Malik Ambar. Major T.W. Haig mentions that the tomb of Malik Ambar is located at Rozā. This point has been challenged by P.N. Patwardhan.⁵⁶ Y.R. Gupte maintains the view of Major Haig.⁵⁷ There is no room for doubt that Malik Ambar breathed his last at Ambarpur and a tomb was erected to his memory at this place. The fact is supported by a grant given for the upkeep of his tomb at Ambarpur in the year 1719. Shevgāon of *Tarf Havclī* was set apart for defraying the expenses of the maintenance of the tomb at Ambarpur.⁵⁸ His entrails were entombed at Ambarpur and other remains of his corpse were brought and cremated in another tomb at Rozā.

Y.R. Gupte cites a parallels instance of Ālamgir whose remains were interred both at Ahmadnagar and Rozā.

*APPENDIX A.**The Strength of Armies at the Battle of Bhāt-wādī.*

According to *Busā-tīnūs-salātīn* the strength of each of the armies of Nizāms'āh (p.413), Ādils'āh (p.412) and the Moghuls (p.413) was 40,000. Pietro Della Valle says that "the Mogol favoured Adil-sciah against Malik Ambar and supplied him with 21,000 Horsec."⁵⁹

In a footnote in *Busā-tīnūs-salātīn* the strength of the various organs of the Ādils'āhī army is enumerated. This is mentioned under the head of the battle of Bhāt-wādī (Bithorī). figures of the various organs of the army are as follows :—(1). 52,000 Horse, (2) 100,000 Infantry, (3) 4,000 Elephants

(4) 955 Singers, (5) 1,445 Singers of Kauwālī and (6) 4,000 Apprentices.

The author seems to hint that such a large army was mobilised on the battle-field of Bhātawādī. This appears to a gross exaggeration. Perhaps, the figures denote the total strength of the army maintained at that time by the Ādils'āhī monarch.

APPENDIX B.

The Table showing the names of military leaders of the three armies (on the next page).

It is quite significant to note that a large number of Hindu *sardārs* were in the service of the Nizāms'āhī Kingdom.

Rājwāde has mentioned Lukhojī Jādhava Rāo of Sindkhed and Udārām as *sardārs* of the Ādils'āhī army.⁶⁰ This is totally baseless, since their names have been mentioned as Moghul *sardārs* in the *Iqbāl-nāmā*. It is also mentioned that these two *sardārs*, who had deserted the cause of the Nizāms'āhī premier, fled from the battle-field without striking a blow.⁶¹

APPENDIX B

Military Leaders of Three Armies

I. S'iva-bhārat.

Nizāms'āhī:

A. Muslims:

Yāqutkhān, Mansūrkhān, Johārkhān
Hamīdkhān, Ātashkhān, Fateh-
khān, Son of Malik Ambar
Ādamkhān, Son of Fatehkhān.)

B. Hindus:

S'āhji, S'arifji, Khelkarnan,
Malla Rāo, Mambā Rājā, Nāgoji
Parsoji, Trimbakrāj, Kakka,
Hambir Rāo Chavhān, Mudhoji
Faltankar, Nisād, Ballāl, Tripād a,
Vithal Rāo Kāte, Dattāji Jagannāth,
Mambāji, Narsinha Pingale, Sunder-
rāj. (Son of Jagdeo)

Ādils'āhī:

A. Muslims:

Mustafākhān, Masūdkhān, Farād-
khān, Dilāwarkhān, Sarjā Yākūt-
khān, Khairatkhān, Ambarkhān,
Ankushkhān.

B. Hindus:

Dundhīrāj (Brāhmaṇ), Ghātge,
Rustam Rao, etc.

Moghulsāhī

A. Muslims:

Jalāikhān, Jahānkhān, Khānzir-
khān, Sikandarkhān, Karmullāh
Khalīlkhān, Sujankhān, Sāmā-
khān.

B. Hindus:

Udārām, Dādāji Vis'vanāth,
Rūghava, Anchal, Jaswant, and
Bahādur, (Son of Jadhar Rāo.)

II. Tanjore Inscription

A. Muslims:

Sirmirkhān, Mudhākhān, Falas-
khān, Sāratkhān, Yāqūtkhān, Pana-
surkhān, Surūpkhān, Joharkhān,
Fattekhān, Ahmādkhān (Son of
Fattekhān.)

B. Hindus:

S'āhji, S'arafji Rāje, Khehoji Rāje,
Māloji Rāje, Sambaji Rāje, Nāgoji
Rāje, Parsoji Rāje, Makkāji Rāje,
Trimbakaji Rāje, Samvakra (*alias*
S'udh-bat.)

A. Muslims:

Jalālkhān, Khanjirkhān, Khar-
mullākhān, Sujankhān, Jahān-
khān, Sikandārkhān, Khālelkhān,
Hisāmādkhān. (Eight in all.)

B. Hindus:

Sons of Jādhav Rāo, Udaram
Vis'ranath, Achal, Bāhādūr,
Dādāji, Rāghava, Jasawant and
Jadhava Rāo.

A. Muslims:

Mustafākhān, Kāhmadkhān, Dilā-
warkhān, Yākūtkhān, Ambarkhān,
Mus'ekhān, Faridkhān, Sarjikhān,
Joharkhān, Ankushkhān (Ten in
all.)

B. Hindus:

Rustam (Rao ?)
Dundi Rāo, Ghāntahi.

III. *Futūhāt-i-Ādils'āī (Under Ikhilāsikhān)*

The names of war-lords of the Nizāms'āhī forces, except for the deserters, are not mentioned. (Refer under Moghuls'āhī list.)

A. *Muslims:*

Under Mullā Muhammad:
Ānkaskhān, Ambarkhān, Farādkhān, Khairātkhan, Yākūtkhān, S'arzā, Ranpulakhān, Dilāwar-khān, Hamīdkhān.

B. *Hindus:*

Amīn Rāo.

A. *Muslims:*

Abul-Hasan, Lashkarkhan, Sipahdārkhān, Jān-siparkhān, Magh-rurkhān, Akīdkhān, Ālkhān Nizāyī, Mīrzā Minuchihar, Mīrzā Mīrak Husain Khāfi, Muhammad Husain Khalaf, S'aikh Nasrullāh.

B. *Hindus:*

Jādhav Rāo, Bēbāji Kāte, S'āhji Bhonsle. (Deserters from the Nizāms'āh.)

N.B. Muslim deserters from the Nizāms'āh:

Ātishkhān, Mahaldārkhān, Ādam-khān. .

IV. *Iqbāl-nāme*

A. *Muslims:*

Mullā Muhammad Lārī, Ekhlās-khān, Farhādkhān.

B. *Hindus:*

Not mentioned.

A. *Muslims:*

Laṣ'karkhān, Khanzarkhān, Jānispārkhān.

B. *Hindus:*

Jādu Rāi and Udārām.

Not mentioned.

V. *Busa-fīnus-salātin*

A. *Muslims:*

Mullā Muhammad Lārī, Randul-lākhkhān, Ākaskhān, Khariyat-khān, Farhādkhān.

B. *Hindus:*

Rustam Rāo.

A. *Muslims:*

Moghalkhān.

B. *Hindus:*

Not mentioned.

Not mentioned.

References and Notes

1. *I.N.* (*E.D.*-VI, 414.)
2. *T.J.*-II, 296.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *I.N.* (*E.D.*-VI, 415); *Q.B.I.S.M.*-XX-2.
5. *F.A.* (*Q.B.I.S.M.*-XX-2, 11.)
6. *Ibid.*
7. *I.N.* (*E.D.*-VI, 415)
8. *P.V.D.*-11, 442-3.
9. *T.J.*-11, 218.
10. *Ibid.*, 295.
11. *P.D.V.*-11, 443.
12. *T.I.*, 10.
13. *F.A.* (*Q.B.I.S.M.*-XX-2, 13).
14. *Ibid.*
15. *P.D.V.*-11, 221.
16. *F.A.* (*Q.B.I.S.M.*-XX-2, 12.); *Q.B.I.S.M.*-II.
17. *B.S.*, 414 & 415.
18. *Ibid.*, 413.
19. *Ibid.*, 415.
20. *S.C.S.*-II, 237.; Kalenjā (Manmohangad) is situated to the south of the Bhor Hills and in front of the Rāyeshwar Hills.
21. *R.M.V.C.*, 53. (Introduction.)
22. *Ibid.*
23. *T.I.*, 12.
24. *H.S.*, 35.
25. *Marāthī Riyāsat: S'āhjī*, 33-36.
26. *A.P.*, Ch. IV.
27. *R.M.V.C.*, 53 (Introduction.)
28. In *T.I.* the name of S'arīfjī occurs after this date also. Perhaps, this refers to another S'arīfjī.
29. *I.N.* (*E.D.*-VI, 414-7).
30. *T.J.*-II, 398-9.
31. *I.N.* (*E.D.*-VI, 414-7)
32. *Ibid.*
33. *Ibid.*
34. *Ibid.*
35. *B.S.*, 413.
36. *N.M.H.*, 54.
37. See no. 20.
38. *J.K.* (*S.S.*, 48).
39. *S.C.S.*-II, 237-8.
40. *H.K.* (*S.C.V.S.*-11, 81).
41. *Marāthī Riyāsat: S'āhī*, 68.
42. *S.G.*-1-1, 68.

43. The *Haft-Kursi* mentions S'āhji as "an unparalleled Vazier" under the entry of 1033 A.H. (see no. 28) which ended on the 6th or 7th October, 1624 A.D. It follows from this that the battle of Bhātawādī should have occurred in Sept. 1624 A.D. and immediately thereafter, S'āhji left the Nizāms'āhī service.
44. *I.N.* (E.D. VI., 414-7).
45. *B.S.*, 415; *P.V.D.*-II, 221. (31st Oct., 1624).
46. *I.N.* (E.D.-VI, 414-7).
47. *M.I.S.*-XVI, 398 (dated 28-7-1625).
48. *S.C.S.*-I, Art. 26 (dated the 19th Dec., 1625).
49. *I.N.* (E.D.-VI, 414-7).
50. *S.L.*, 16-7. The *Jedhe S'akāvali* mentions *S'aka* 1546 as the year of the capture of Sholāpur which means in January-March 1625. *S.C.S.*-VII, Art. 67, 109; for the description of the cannon refer to *P.D.V.*-II, 442-3 and also Mendelso's *Travel into the Indies*, 77-78.
51. *S.C.S.*-I, 22.
52. *M.I.S.*-XVI, Art 12. (Dated 4-2-1626).
53. *I.N.* (E.D.-VI, 414-7).
54. *E.F.I.*-II, 243.
55. *Ibid.*, I, 161, Surat to Bombay dated the 14th Dec., 1626.
56. *Ibid.*, III, 133. (Surat to the Company dated 29-11-1626). The *Jedhe Kareenā* mentions *S'aka* 1547 which covered the period from the 27th March, 1625 to the 16th March, 1626. So, it follows that S'āhjahān took shelter in Feb., 1626.
57. The date of Malik Ambar's death is the 14th May, 1626, according to old calculations. *O.C.*, dated the 4th Jan., 1628; *P.S.S.*, 431; *S.C.P.*, 54; *J.S.* (S.S. 4); *B.S.*, 416; *E.D.*-VI, 428.
58. *Q.B.I.S.M.*-XX-1, 20.
59. *H.L.D.*, 56.
60. *S.L.*, 37.
61. *B.S.*, 412 & 413.
62. *R.M.V.C.*, 52.
63. *I.N.* (E.D.-VI, 415).

PART II

Malik Ambar and the Europeans

Malik Ambar and the Portuguese

In order to grasp and appreciate fully Malik Ambar's relations with the Portuguese, it is essential to make a preliminary survey of the latter's position in the Deccan during the early part of the seventeenth century. The Portuguese were the first European nation to open up commercial intercourse with India during the Mediaeval period of the Indian History. Relations between the East and the West in the Indian antiquity had brought little contact between the two besides the exchange of trading commodities, for they were politically sterile.

The original motive of the Portuguese for coming to India was principally religious. A Portuguese Chronicle describes them as keenly desirous of bringing Christianity to "vast tribes lying under the wrath of God,"¹ and to join hands with Prester John, the fabled Christian Prince of the East in order to wipe Islam out of existence from the face of the earth. Closely interwoven with these religious motives were the hopes of national wealth and power resulting from commercial activities carried out in the East. The fall of Constantinople in the hands of the Turks in 1453 led the Europeans to place the crusading motive in the forefront.

As they were resolutely determined to destroy Muslim states, if they could possibly effect it, they set out as armed traders to India and the Far East. Supremacy at sea was essential factor for their success in their commercial enterprise. Their vessels being larger and stouter, as compared to the Indian sailing crafts, could brave storms and rough weather in a better manner than the latter. The Portuguese could mount

cannon on their vessels, the recoil of which would have shaken Indian vessels to pieces at their first discharge. They decided to avoid all extensive occupation of territory with a view to build forts only where needed to protect trade and to maintain on the Malabar coast as large a squadron as possible and to appoint a periodical governor.

Inspired by religious fervour and fired with crusading spirit, the Portuguese sought to oust Muslim traders from the Indian waters. After several determined attacks on Muslim traders and states, the Portuguese succeeded in securing their objective and obtaining foothold on the Western Coast of India first. Albuquerque (1506-1515) did not think it advisable to limit the position of the Portuguese commercial influence to the Malabar coast only, as it could make easily their position shaky. Its revenue would be inadequate, its forces small and its basis insecure. If, however, the Portuguese boldly seized the strategic points from which the whole traffic of the Indian seas could be controlled and if, moreover, they set up their headquarters in a city of their own rich, populous and strong, their revenue would be great enough to maintain an irresistible power, to feed the wealth of their mother-country with eastern exports. Thus, by slow degrees, the Portuguese supplanted the Muslims and the Venetian traders in the Indian seas as chief distributor of Indian commodities in Europe.

Their position was essentially that of a maritime dominion covering a commercial monopoly. It rested on the occupations of points, as already indicated above, by which seaborne trade must pass and the maintenance of a naval power strong enough to encounter and overthrow any sea power. From this point of view Goa had excellent site and situation, which fell into their possession in February, 1510.

Besides Goa, the Portuguese had set up trading stations at Cochīn (1503), Cannanore (1503), Chaul (1513), Bassein (1558), Daman (1559). Other Portuguese settlements on the western coast were Sālesette (styled, 'Sās'tī' in Marāthī), Dābhol, Thānā, Bārdesh Island, Culcullee. Verundā, Mangalore, Kran-ganore, Quinlon and Honāvor.³

Having established themselves firmly on the Indian soil,

the Portuguese not merely conducted commercial activities but indulged freely in conversion of Indians into Christians. Their proselytising activities, at times, were marked by uncommon cruelty and violence and, therefore, bitterly resented by the Indian rulers and their subjects. In 1623 A.D., it was reckoned that at Goa and other places there were twice as many priests as Portuguese laymen.

For a period of 60 years from 1580 to 1640 A.D. Portugal remained under the sway of the Spanish Emperor and naturally her colonial policy was dominated by the Spanish interests and subordinated to the imperialistic designs of the new conqueror.

The advent of the English and the Dutch in the Indian waters marked the end of the Portuguese monopoly of Indian trade. From 1612 A.D., the Portuguese power began to wane. Their corrupt officers, heavy demands on wealth and manpower of the nation, lack of character, morals and discipline and mental stagnancy contributed to their rapid decline.⁴

II. The significance of Chaul :

Out of the Portuguese settlements mentioned above, only Chaul was within the territorial limits of the Nizāms'āhī Kingdom. Pietro Della Valle in his travels records that to the south of Chaul lay the dominion of the Ādils'āhī Sultān.⁵ Dābhol came under the sway of Malik Ambar towards the end of 1625 A.D. or early in 1626 A.D.⁶

Though Chaul was the solitary Portuguese possession in the Nizāms'āhī dominion before the capture of Dābhol, it was perhaps, the leading trading centre on the western coast of India. According to the description of the contemporary English people, Chaul was a good harbour and a strong place.⁷ Thomas Nicolls describes Chaul to be extremely prosperous and famous for its imports, horse traffic, silk-weaving, wood-carving and lacquer works in the seventeenth century.⁷ The port exported to Europe ebony and spices of the Moluccas, sandalwood of Timore, camphor of Borneao, fragrant gum (benzoin) of Javā and Sumātrā, aloes wood of Cochīn-Chinā,

fragrant oil gun, spices, silks and toys of Chinā, Japān and Siam, precious stones of Pegū, fine cloth of Coromandal coast of India, valuable cloth of Bengal, spikenard of Nepāl and Bhūtān, diamonds of Golcondā, steel and vegetables of Malābār coast, lac, embroidery and precious stones of Khambhāt (Cambay), shawls and carved pots of Kās'mir, b'dellium (a kind of gum) of Sindh, cateccu of Tibet, segapenum of Irān (Persia) and amber, ivory, precious stones and fragrant substances of Zanzibār.⁹ Many of these commodities were exchanged for Indian goods. The port also dealt in minerals and articles of iron, zinc, copper, and bronze. Besides being a busy beehive of commerce, Chaul was an industrial centre as well where leather-work, bronz-work, dyeing and blacksmithy carried on.¹⁰ In short, Chaul had developed an extensive entrepot trade under the Portuguese commercial influence. If Goa was the political nerve of the Portuguese in India, Chaul was their commercial centre.

The settlement of inhabitants at Chaul was controlled by the Portuguese and the adjoining hillock was also possessed by them. On it, a fortress named Korlāi (कोरलई) had been erected by them. Formerly, Chaul belonged to the Nizāms'āhī Sultān, but it was captured by the Portuguese by means of arms. It was, therefore, a well-protected place. The sway of the Nizāms'āhī Sultan extended over the surrounding territory adjoining the port. A little away to the north, on the other side of the bay, lay the Nizāms'āhī port of Revādandā.

In addition to Chaul and Dābhol, over the island of Janjīrā the Nizāms'āhī Sultan had held an unbroken sway, at least, during the regime of Malik Ambar. It is a rocky island at the mouth of the Bay of Rājāpurī into which the Kundalikā river empties itself, off the Kokan coast. It lies midway between the ports of Chaul to the north and Dābhol to the south. It never received any name. It was simply known as 'Zanzīrā', meaning an island. This Arabic word was corrupted into 'Janjīrā' by the Marāthās, which continues as its name till today.¹¹ Malik Ambar made the enclosing back waters a naval base for his fleet. Siddī Ambar was appointed *Subhedar* (Governor) of Janjīrā in 1621 A.D.¹²

Be it noted that the history of Chaul is largely the history of Malik Ambar's relations with the Portuguese as his contact with them occurred mostly at that port. It is, therefore, necessary to deal with the history of this port at some length to bring out Malik Ambar's dealings with the Portuguese. These relations were mainly governed by the southward expansion of the Moghul Empire in the Deccan, the appearance of the English and the Dutch on the stage of Indian history and their dependence and reliance for commercial activities on the Moghul Emperor. Malik Ambar does not seem to have broken out openly with the Portuguese except on rare occasions. He appeared to have maintained, to a large extent, as friendly and cordial relations as the circumstances permitted him to do so, and avoided causes of possible friction in most cases.

III. *The Sovereignty of the Sea:*

Before making a detailed analysis of the mutual relations and dealings between Malik Ambar and the Portuguese, it will do well to examine how the latter utilized their irresistible mastery on the Indian Ocean. It is needless to point out that after their establishment on the western coast of India, the Portuguese became the greatest maritime power in the Indian Ocean. This ascendancy was exercised in a highhanded manner and relentless way and was jealously guarded. They compelled even friendly states to secure their *cartaz* or passports before sailing their vessels on voyages in the Arabian sea or other parts of the Indian Ocean. The friendly nations of Europe were accorded no better treatment, as can be inferred from the accounts left by many adventurous travellers who were lured by the vague rumours of fabulous wealth of the gorgeous east in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

It is worth citing the contemporary opinion of Francois Pyrard on the Portuguese *cartaz* as follows:

"Under all.....treaties and agreements *the Portuguese have managed to become the masters of the Indian Seas*; so that no Indians, whether of the mainland or of what country soever, durst navigate or make any voyage without a passport from them, which lasts but one year only. These passports, which

they call *cartaz* permit them to navigate to certain named places only, but forbid them to carry pepper, arms, or ammunition of war. They even specify what arms and men they may carry, and if more are found on board than are mentioned in the passport, everything is confiscated and deemed lawful prize and the men are held prisoners. It is also mentioned of what port the ship is. But an exception is made in favour of the Kings with whom they have treaties of peace; for these can send a certain number of vessels when they choose, and with any cargo of merchandise whatever, without any daring to say or do anything. *They are not even bound to take a passport.* Nevertheless, they take them for such ships as they fit out on their own behalf and are avowedly theirs. And this is the cause that many passes (are issued) under their names, and carry pepper and other merchandise to Arabiā, whither all these kings send every year a vast number of ships laden with spices and other drugs."¹³

It is not surprising that even Malik Ambar, their friendly ally and neighbour, sought the grant of *cartaz* in his favour, as can be revealed from the sequel. The Portuguese Viceroy in India communicated to His Majesty at Lisbon in February, 1619 A.D. as follows:

"Now I received a request from King Nizamoxa (Nizāms'āh) for permission to send one of his ships to the Port of Suaquem (in the strait of Meccā) over and above the number (specified) in the agreement between us, and to have horses fetched from the same port free of customs duty, and to convey a certain quantity of wood from his territory of Galiana (Kalyān) and Biundim (Bhivandī) for the construction of a ship which is being built in the port of Chaul."¹⁴

The Portuguese decision on the above request is recorded in the following excerpt to illustrate the Portuguese attitude towards Malik Ambar in 1619 A.D.:

"King Nizamoxa (Nizāms'āh) sent word requesting a *pass over and above what is entitled to by treaty*, in order to be able to despatch a ship of his to the port of Squaquem in the straits of Mecca, and I did not agree to it. But when he pressed me very much, and his *tanadar* of Upper Chaul, Navascao sent word to me to say that relying on great friendship that existed

between his King and us, he had already loaded his ship which was due to sail. He had acted thus by the order of Melique Ambar who in turn had issued the order relying on the policy of promoting your Majesty's interests, and the preceding viceroys had never refused this pass. And precisely because Melique Ambar, in whose name the ship is due to sail, is favourable to us, it seemed to me necessary to communicate this request to the Council of State, as indeed I did on January, 9 (1619 A.D.). It was decided to issue him the pass this time only with a declaration that *it would not serve as a precedent to ask for it again*. In no case would be hence-forth be granted a pass in excess of those stipulated in the agreement. We took this course for the following reason. It was necessary to help this king so that he could better stand against the Mughul and have greater forces for the purpose. Moreover, it is a time when the Dutch and the English were trying to gain their ends by winning over these kings, and so we ought not to give him cause for complaint. It was for these reasons that I issued the pass."¹⁵

The first contact of the Portuguese with Malik Ambar seems to have occurred as early as 1594, A.D.

IV. *The Construction of a fort at "Morro"*

Towards the end 1594 A.D., Malik Ambar seems to have completed the construction of a fort at "Morro near Chaul" and "his officers.....seized the occasion to plunder the lands and villages of the city of Bassein."¹⁶ The construction of this fort, according to the Portuguese version, rightly constituted such a serious threat to the security of their northern forts that they considered it a sound policy to get it demolished or to capture it early in 1595 A.D. by every means possible.¹⁷ The Morro of Chaul was well fortified and provided with powerful artillery. "Thereby the Portuguese fort of Chaul was so completely surrounded and hemmed in that—no ship, however, light could enter in at the large bar with being sunk."¹⁸

Nevertheless, at this juncture, the Portuguese were eager and anxious to avoid an open conflict with the Ādils'āh of Bijāpur, who had been instigated Malik Ambar to start hostilities against them.¹⁹ The Portuguese authorities at Lisbon left the decision

for the capture of the fort of Morro to the local council and directed it to inform them about the action taken. They were eager to secure the "safety of the fortress of Chaul and others depending on it, as well as the reputation" of their Government.²⁰

The Portuguese authorities in Lisbon learnt in 1597 A.D. that "there were many upheavals and disturbances in his (Ambar's) territory..... And it was said that there were three kings who had agreed to rebel. This might offer an opportunity to the Moghul to seize that (Nizāms'āhī) Kingdom, as he has done others, and.....he is already trying to do so."²¹ They directed to keep the kingdom in a state of peace, as otherwise it would create a serious problem to the Portuguese, if the Moghuls were to conquer it²².

The Moghul emperor "acted as soon as he heard of the fierce wars which were going on in the kingdom of Melique, and spread out through all those regions the huge military force which accompanied him, so that the minds of all were in suspense. The Viceroy remarks that he anticipated this many days before, and tried to arrange a league between Melique, Idalxa (Adils'āh), Cotamulco (Kubt-ul-Muluk) and other kings of that region...I request you mostly earnestly to employ every means to unite these Kings so that *they may as one body frustrate the designs of the Mughal, for it is something on which depends the peace and security of our dominions.....* For you are to see that the league is perpetuated and also not give offence to and alienate the Mughal, nor afford him an excuse to turn his arms against our fortresses....."²³

It appears that the Portuguese authorities were keenly intent on urging the Adils'āh to effect a conjunction with Malik Ambar to safeguard the Nizāms'āhī Kingdom.²⁴ They observed: "Since the Mughal has been waging a victorious war against the kingdoms of the Deccan, because of the kingdom of Melique is ill protected and rent with dissension, and the neighbouring kings do not want to unite in spite of all your efforts to get them to do so, it would not be advisable to divest our dominions of a large force."²⁵

The locational advantage of the fort at Morro caused apprehension in the minds of the Portuguese as can be gleaned from the following excerpt:

“Opposite to our city of Chaul, and running half across the mouth of the river is a high and precipitous hill called the Rock (Morro), which the forces of Melique (the Ahmadnagar King) had converted into a great fortress, as strong as any in the world. This Rock was surrounded on the three sides by the sea, and on the fourth was a ditch which extended from the sea to the river, and which was crossed by a wooden draw-bridge. On the inner side of the ditch was a high and strong wall, also from the sea to the river, and relieved by two great bastions. Between the bastions, and looking down from the wall stood a bronze lion with this inscription.....‘None passes me but fights.’

“Crossing the Rock about the middle was another wall with bastions, and on the top of it a great and strong tower which commanded the summit, and was called the ‘Tower of Resistance.’ From the higher point it looked down a bronze eagle with extended wings and with this inscription—‘None passes me but flies.’ At point of the rock stretching further into the river was great and strong bastion. There were thus seven in all, armed with more than 70 pieces of heavy artillery. Inside the walls the Moors had a deep cistern or tank, well-built of costly cut stone, several magazines full of warlike stores of all sorts and some good houses. The garrison consisted of about 8,000 troops, horse and foot, among whom were many rich and noble Moors, who were quartered outside the walls in costly tents of grey colours. Adjoining this camp was a *bāzār* of near 7,000 souls, all engaged in trade, which contained everything necessary for wants of population, and also was the store of rich stuffs, money and merchandise.”²⁶

After their long stay in India, the Portuguese began to indulge in the politics of the country either openly or secretly for keeping their interests and position secure and promoting their commercial activities. They ranged themselves normally against the southern advance of the Moghuls with the Deccan Sultāns individually or jointly from time to time.

In 1596 A.D., the Portuguese Viceroy had been intent on having an alliance of Malik Ambar, petty chief of Chaul and Dābhol, with the reigning Ādils'āh with a view to resist the southward march of the Moghul conquest in the Deccan.²⁷ The Portuguese accorded assistance to Chand Bibī with their arms in her stout resistance against the Moghul invaders, prior to the fall of the fort of Ahmadnagar (18/19 Aug., 1600 A.D.)²⁸

V. Malik Ambar's Rise to Power :

By 1601 A.D., Malik Ambar seems to have risen to power and influence in the Nizāms'āhī territory which has been styled as 'the kingdom of Mellique' by the Portuguese. They apprehended a threat of invasion at his hands on Goa and remained cautious about the movements of this shrewd politician.²⁹ A careful scrutiny of this letter of warning, culled out *in extenso*, in Ch. 2 throws into bold relief two salient facts:

1. In 1601 A.D., Malik Ambar had grown sufficiently powerful and influential. The territory occupied by him came to be known as 'the kingdom of Mellique', which indicates that he wielded independent powers and masked the reigning Nizāms'āhī Sultān.
2. Malik Ambar was a shrewd and far-sighted diplomat. The Portuguese incurred his odium, probably, during the tenure of his Governorship of Chaul and Dābhol.³⁰ Malik Ambar seems to have been fully aware of the sinister designs of the Portuguese power in India as early as the year, 1596 A.D. It is, therefore, quite likely that Malik Ambar might have harboured intentions to take Goa in order to strike at the root of the Portuguese power in India.

In 1604 A.D., they expressed their gratification regarding Malik Ambar's defence measures against the Moghuls and the Portuguese authorities in India were directed by their Principals at home to induce and incite the Nizāms'āhī Premier to keep up this resistance.

VI. The Condominium at Chaul:

Apparently, the Portuguese had entered into agreement with the official representatives of the Nizāms'āhī state to the equal division of the land-revenue in Chaul and its vicinal region, before the year, 1606 A.D. Before September, 1606 A.D., the Portuguese forcibly collected all the revenue and harassed the cultivators there and even forfeited their farms and ruined them. At this juncture, at the intercession of Māmūr Khān Thānedār and Timājī Majumdār of Chaul the normal relations with the Portuguese seem to have been restored.³¹ When the conditions returned to normal, the re-settlement of the desolated territory was effected by Malik Ambar, after giving the peasants an assurance of safety. Intoxicated with a feeling of superiority of their arms, the Portuguese committed acts of brutality many a time on the Indian soil.

In a royal letter, dated the 6th March, 1605 A.D., the Viceroy, D. Martin Afonso de Castro had been advised to encourage Malik Ambar by secret means and without causing suspicion to defend himself and suggest to the Ādils'āh to help him, so that they might preserve their states and let not the general of Akbar seize them.³² In the same year, a captain of the Nizāms'āhī state made an incursion in some village of Bassein.³³

Perhaps, disgusted with the sinister designs and undesirable activities of the Portuguese, Abdul Karīm, the Provincial Governor of Chaul, fitted out a fleet of thirty sails to cruise against them in 1609 A.D. The Viceroy of Goa remonstrated but obtained no satisfaction.³⁴ However, it can be surmised that the efforts of the governor proved abortive and he was obliged to come to terms with the Portuguese.³⁵ The Portuguese themselves seem to have been eager for peaceful settlement of their differences with Malik Ambar, as they realised the dangers of the renewal of the Deccan conquest under the Moghul Commander, Khān Jahān Lodi, assisted by Prince Parwīz and the Khān-i-Khānān Abdur Rahīm.³⁶

However, in a letter of the same year, addressed to the Viceroy, Rui Lourenco de Tavora, the King of Portugal wrote on the 29th October:

“The Archbishop, Governor of this state, wrote to me about the conquest of the Deccan, which was something to be feared about; for, although the Mughal Emperor showed himself a friend and was sending a new ambassador,^{36a} who was waiting, he believed that his affairs did not mean anything good, and from the place where he was up to the walls of my fortresses of the north, there was nothing to oppose him, and he only found some resistance from Ādil Khān, who had sent ambassadors to Malik and Cotta Moluk, king of Masulipatam, and Venkata Nāik,³⁷ that all of them may unite: however, they and all the Deccan were in great terror, and he, the Governor, had requested them all to defend themselves. And because this matter is of great importance as you know, for the Mughal is so powerful a king that, should he be in the vicinity of the said fortress, he would give them much to do and everything would run great danger. I recommend you to do all that is possible in order to unite these princes against him, helping them in all that be needful, not only reward them for the good done on the occasion of the rebellions but also for the great advantage to this State. However, it should be done with such secrecy that the Mughal may not be apprised of it. You should rather humour him with all the possible demonstrations to preserve his friendship, understanding, so that in case you be forced to declare yourselves for any of the parties, it must that of the neighbouring kings.”³⁸

Another royal letter to the same Viceroys dated the 11th March, 1611 had directed him” to maintain with him (Malik Ambar) friendly intercourse, making him favours, that he may be encouraged against the Mughal.”³⁹

In this very year, the advent of Muslim outlaws from the neighbouring island of Kāranjā at the instance of the residents of Chaul to that place led to the assassination of the Portuguese Captain at the fort. The expedition of the Nizāms’āhī state against Sālsette and Bassein ended in a failure.⁴⁰

The Portuguese at Chaul did not seem to have amicable relations at least continuously with the Muslims at that place and both appeared to have been engaged in long-drawn and frequent skirmishes: at ‘Morro’ also. In the rainy season of 1613 A.D., the re-erudescence of an open conflict with each other, led to the

discomfiture and demoralisation of the resident Muslims. It seems that the fort of 'Morro' had passed at least temporarily into the possession of the Portuguese.⁴¹

Towards the end of the rainy season of 1613 A.D., the Portuguese indulged in the capture of a large Moghul ship, the *Rahimī*. Jahāngir took it to be a personal affront and despatched Mukarrab Khān to commence warlike operations against the Portuguese. This incident seems to have almost synchronized with the capture of 'Morro' which obliged Malik Ambar to effect a conjunction with the Moghuls to attack a common enemy.⁴² Both the Moghuls and Ambar appeared to have made a resolute attempt in league with other Deccan sultānates to root out the Portuguese power from India.⁴³ They had besieged and taken the town of Chaul and laid siege to its fort and burnt "the cadra of Dabull as she rid before the castle of Chaul."⁴⁴ The siege of Chaul continued for nearly a month.⁴⁵ The hostilities between the Portuguese and Nizāms'āhī subjects at Chaul are attributed to some disputes about orchards at the place.⁴⁶ In a royal letter addressed to the Viceroy, Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo, dated the 1st March, 1613 urged the necessity of keeping amicable relations with Malik Ambar. The Viceroy, Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo, in his letter of 22nd December, 1613, wrote, "The Mughal has achieved little or nothing in the war he wages against Malik, although he has his general and men on the outskirts of that Kingdom. I have sent them a Hindoo of trust, Azū Nāik by name, because I think it should be given, nor have to give, but that, being informed of it, Malik Ambar's fears may be roused and he may open negotiations for peace, to obtain which I see no other honourable way. When this Hindoo was returning with the reply the vessel he was sailing in was captured,⁴⁷ and he himself being a well known person and inhabitant of this city was arrested. Thus the business stands up to now, and I do not know what was settled by him."

"Adil S'āh has often asked me to establish peace; at first I did not grant his request, because in the manner of his language, it was easy to see that he did not care for the good of this State, but rather wanted to know the state in which we were. He also wrote to me with great insistence, which was what I expected to see in this matter and through an ambassador that I had there,

sent me word about many things which being against the Mughal, it seems to me he did not dare to commit to writing. I have replied to him that, since he insists so much, I cannot decline his offers, and thus I put the business in his hands, telling him that it is good to come to an immediate truce and suspension of arms so that the peace may be better effected—."⁴⁸

On the 20th Nov, 1614 A.D., Nicholas Downton had recorded: "We finde by report Chall and Bassein slightly heseeged by the Deccans."⁴⁹ The hostilities appear to have continued till Decemher, 1614 A.D., and the Moghuls had besieged Chaul, Daman and Bassein.⁵⁰

Obviously, the friendly relations of the Portuguese with Malik Ambar were in doldrums. The hostilities had broken out over some orchards at Chaul. and the Portuguese were driven to the shelter of the walls of their castle, while the enemy outside carried fire and sword.

The efforts for reconciliation and peace by the Portuguese did not bear fruit immediately, as can be seen from the following excerpt :

Writing about the settlement of peace with Nizāms'āh, the Viceroy D. Jeronimo de Azevedo, informed His Majesty on the 31st Decemher, 1614..

"...Ādil Shāh has continued to send word to me through his amhassador in Goa. about peace with Malik, and insisted that I should depute some one to negotiate and conclude peace. I kept on replying to him that for his sake I would accept his advice, and put the business to his hands, but that it was necessary that a person should come to Goa an Malik's behalf and sue for peace, for it was he who had begun the war. Seeing the duration of the war and the trouble it is giving to the the inhabitants of the North, so that if it was not brought to a speedy end, they will be completely ruined and exhausted, I thought how it could be remedied and peace be brought about, without letting it be known that this State sought it. Having learnt that Ādil Shāh has agreed to the marriage of his daughter with the king of Masulipatam, I made haste to send congratulations to him, and in order to let him know that I was now proceeding towards the North with

the fleet, I sent him an ambassador and appointed for that purpose Antonio Monteiro Corte Real, not only because he was an able man and could fulfil this task with authority and honour, but also, more particularly, because he knew how to deal with these Mahomedans and negotiate with them. I ordered that he should not in any way refer to the matter of peace with Malik, and in case he should be spoken about the same, though he had my authority to deal with that matter, when much pressed he should reply that they could write to me and he knew that I had much good-will towards Ādil s'āh and would do anything concerning him. He left in early September, was well received, and before long they spoke to him about the peace. But he told them that he had no authority, but that they could write to me; they did so, and with great insistence they requested me to order an immediate cessation of arms.⁵¹ I answered to him that as long as Malik's agent should keep within his own boundaries and commit no act of hostility, I would order that on our side too the same be done, and that this suspension of arms should be for a limited time of two to three months, and as for peace, as I should be going now to the North, he should be sent to negotiate with me. However, I do not trust at all the friendship of these Mahomedans, but I pretend, for our condition is not such as to allow us to break off with all of them together....."⁵²

VIII The Portuguese Treaties with Malik Ambar :

Alarmed at the defeat of Malik Ambar by the Moghuls,⁵³ the Portuguese, in the following year, brought about a tripartite treaty among the Nizāms'āh, Ādils'āh and Portuguese signed by S'āh Nawāz Khān (Ādils'āhī), Kās'ī Pandit (Nizāms'āhī) and Antoni Mateir on behalf of the Portuguese, as their accredited agents of their respective governments in October, 1615 A.D., for observing the terms of the treaty made in 1571 A.D., defensive alliance and excluding the Dutch and the English from establishing themselves in the Nizāms'hī kingdom. The tripartite treaty of 1617 A.D., reiterated the terms of the former treaties of 1571 and 1615 A.D., to which was added the institution of a Board of Arbitration for disputes rising between

the Portuguese ryots and the native ryots, regarding the disputed ownership of coconut gardens and groves.⁵¹

About the evaluation of the palms and orchards of Chaul in 1617 A.D., it is mentioned as follows :

“(Malik Ambar) then ordered Luiz de Almada de Almeida, who we (Portuguese) said had been sent by him as supervisor of finance to the North to make the evaluation of palmgrove and orchards. He was to employ two persons from our side who understood well how to evaluate these estates, and other two from the side of Melique. Then, if Melique wished to have the orchards and palm groves for the price at which they were valued, he was to pay the sums to the residents of Chaul, if not, they were to retain the properties with the obligation of paying the customary tax. The assessors were chosen, but as the Muslims believed that our fortunes had suuk very low, and it seemed to them that we had lost all power at sea, they wished to include in the evaluation the palm groves and orchards which extended from the straits of Regaqaim (Revādandā?) inwards up to below the artillery of the walls of the city. The Viceroy, being informed of this, did not agree, saying that these never belonged to Melique since the foundation of the city, but had always belonged to its inhabitants. Then the value of most of the estates was assessed, and Melique claimed them for himself, but did not pay their full value; rather he withheld it, and refused to pay much of it. The Portuguese who had married Indian women and settled at Chaul complained of this to the Viceroy, but he evaded them as best as he could in order not have to start the war again. Thus it came about that our people remained without full compensation because Melique Ambar and all the other kings of the East are accustomed to take advantage of it when they see the fortune of any State low and its position weak. They have no regard for justice or right, and the only consideration that weighs with them is that of power.”⁵⁵

In 1619 A.D., possibly in the month of February, Ambar had been encamped at Khadakī, which was the court of the Nizāms'āhī king at that time. The Portuguese felt gratified that Malik Ambar. *“fared well against the Mughal and one may*

suppose that he will continue to do so in the future if the Deccanis, of whom his chief camp consists, remain loyal to him and do not trust the Mughal to give effect to the farmans."⁵⁶

In the letter of the 20th February, 1619 A.D. from the Portuguese Viceroy to the king of Portugal, the following is recorded :

"Viceroy Dom Jeronimo sent Antonio Monteriro Corte Real as ambassador to Idalxa (Ādils'āh) and from there to Melique to discuss and finalise the peace treaties between him and ourselves."⁵⁷ This points to the conclusion that the Portuguese effected the renewal of former treaties with certain modifications to suit the requirements of the circumstances obtaining at that time.

The Portuguese authorities in India were directed from Lisbon in 1619 A.D. to the effect that "if the Moghal attacks Melique and it become evident that he cannot maintain or defend that position, the reason being that we must prevent it (the fort of Dandā) falling into the hands of the Mughals who will prove very troublesome neighbours. However, if these rulers are at peace and Melique at peace and in good relations with our Government you will take care not to make any attempt to take the said fortress of Dandā or provoke a conflict."⁵⁸

The Portuguese authorities in India replied that although the fort was in the hands of a friendly King he could not control the hereditary officer at the place from acting in defiance to his authority, despite their repeated complaints.⁵⁹

There is another example of how, sometimes, local officers circumvented the central authority of the kingdom. The Portuguese informed their higher authorities at home that though 'Nabascao' (Nawāz-Khān), Thānedār and revenue officer in Upper Chaul, had received the tribute, he did not pay the money collected by him.⁶⁰

In the year, 1620 A.D. Malik Ambar embarked on a war against the Moghuls on an extensive scale with the help of the two Deccan allies, namely, the Ādils'āh and the Kutbs'āh. He mobilised an army of 60,000 horse for the war against the

Moghuls. "Building up a grand alliance of the Deccan powers", says J.N. Sarkār, "he attacked the Moghuls" overwhelming force, drove them to Burhānpur and closely invested their Viceroy in that city."⁶¹ Malik Ambar even crossed the Narmadā river and carried out daring raids into the Moghul territory. The alliance made it possible for Malik Ambar to carrying such a bold feat successfully against the most powerful state in India. It is evident that the treaty of 1619 fostered this triple alliance.

The period of 5 years from 1620 to 1625 A.D. appears to be uneventful in so far as Malik Ambar's dealings with the Portuguese are concerned in the light of the historical materials available at present.

IX. *The Disturbances at Chaul:*

The peace and tranquillity of Chaul was disturbed in June, 1625 A.D., by the Portuguese.⁶² The details and nature of the disturbance are not known.

Early in 1625 A.D., Dābhol was annexed by Malik Ambar during the invasion of the Ādils'āhī territory following the famous and decisive battle of Bhatwādī.⁶³ Malik Ambar and the Nizāms'āhī subjects must have come into contact with the Portuguese resident at Dābhol and its vicinity. After the lapse of a year, Malik Ambar paid his debt to nature on the 11th May, 1626 A.D., from which date, naturally his relations with the Portuguese terminated.⁶⁴

According to Pieter Van Den Broecke "there were many Portuguese in his service, all of whom had become Moslems, some commanded 1000 horse, others 3000 and 5000." One of them was Mansūr Khān, a Portuguese convert to Islam, who held the rank of 6000 and the Jagir of Kandahār.⁶⁵

In conclusion, it may be said that the Portuguese were urged to keep friendly and amicable relations with Malik Ambar in order to face and checkmate imperialistic designs of the Moghuls, though occasionally they created troubles at Chaul much to his chagrin and vexation. The materials on the life and times of Malik Ambar so far extant do not throw any light on his

policy towards the Portuguese relating to their religious fanaticism, and forcible conversion of the Indians into Christianity. A few Portuguese adventurers sought service in the Nizāms'āhī court. Jasper Gomes was entertained as an interpreter in Malik Ambar's service. It has not possible to know from the materials discovered so far whether the Portuguese supplied arms and ammunitions to Malik Ambar. It will not be, however, wrong to surmise that they must have rendered all possible help, for they looked upon him as their powerful and helpful ally and neighbour.

CHRONOLOGY

| Event | Date | Authority/Authorities. |
|---|-----------|---|
| 1. Portuguese eager to avoid open conflict with Malik Ambar. | 1594 A.D. | <i>Arquivo Portuguese Oriental</i> , fas. 3, 162. |
| 2. Malik Ambar completes a fort at 'Morro'. | 1595 A.D. | <i>Arquivo Portuguese Oriental</i> , fas. 3, 162. |
| 3. The Nizāms'āhī kingdom rocked by disturbances. | 1597 A.D. | <i>Ibid.</i> , fas. XXIV, 691. |
| 4. The alliance of the Deccan <i>Sultānates</i> desired by Portuguese. | 1598 A.D. | <i>Ibid.</i> , fas. 304, II, 801-2. |
| 5. Portuguese apprehension of attack on Goa by Malik Ambar. | 1601 A.D. | <i>Monquos de Reino</i> , Ano de 1601 te 1602. fol. 18. |
| 6. The Portuguese authorities in India urged to induce Malik Ambar to oppose Moghuls. | 1605 A.D. | <i>Ibid.</i> |
| 7. The forcible collection of duce by Portuguese at Chaul. | 1606 A.D. | S.C.S.-IX, Art 18. |

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| 8. Abdul Karīm fitted out a fleet against Portuguese. | 1609 A.D. | Faria Souza; <i>Manuel de Asia Portuguesa</i> , Tomo III, Pt. 2, Ch. 9. |
| 9. Renewed attempt at alliance among Deccan <i>Sultānates</i> by Portuguese. | 1609 A.D. | <i>Documentos Remetidos</i> Tomo I, 253-254. |
| 10. The entry of Muslim outlaws at Chaul. | 1611 A.D. | <i>Ibid.</i> |
| 11. The failure of Nizāms'āhī expedition against Sālsette and Bassein. | 1611 A.D. | <i>Gerson da Gunha</i> , 61. |
| 12. Temporary occupation of 'Morro' by Portuguese. | 1613 A.D. | A. Bocarro: <i>Historia da India</i> , Decada 13, Pt. 1. |
| 13. Malik Ambar and Moghuls attacked Portuguese possessions. | 1613 A.D. | <i>F.R. Miscellaneous</i> , Vol. 25, 59-60. |
| 14. Azū Nāik captured. | Dec., 1613 A.D. | <i>Livro das Moncoes</i> , No. 12, 47V-49V. |
| 15. The siege of Chaul, Daman and Bassein. | Nov, 1614 A.D. | <i>O.C.</i> , Letters Received, Vol. II, 148. |
| 16. Disputes regarding orchards at Chaul. | 1614-15 A.D. | A. Bocarro: <i>Decadas</i> XIII. Vol. 1, 48 <i>et seqq.</i> |
| 17. A Tripartite Treaty among the Portuguese, Malik Ambar and Ādils'āh. | 1615 A.D. | <i>Q.B.I.S.M.</i> -XII-2-3-4. |
| 18. Renewal of the Tripartite Treaty. | 1917 A.D. | <i>Ibid.</i> |
| 19. Settlement of disputes re: groves and gardens at Chaul. | 1617 A.D. | A. Bocarro: <i>Decadas</i> , Vol. I, Ch. CLXXIII. |
| 20. Renewal of the Tripartite Treaty. | 1619 A.D. | <i>Documentos Remetidos da India</i> , No. 1145. |

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| 21. Malik Ambar's request for additional <i>cartaz</i> . | Feb. 1619 A.D. | <i>Ibid.</i> , No. 1115. |
| 22. Peaceful relations with Malik Ambar urged. | 1619 A.D. | <i>Ibid.</i> |
| 23. Allied forces against Moghuls. | 1620 A.D. | J.N. Sarkar, <i>Aurangzib</i> , I-II, 188-90. |
| 24. Capture of Dābhol by Malik Ambar. | 1625 A.D. | <i>E.F.I.</i> -II, 243. |
| 25. Disturbances at Chaul. | June, 1625 A.D. | <i>Q.B.I.S.M.</i> -XIII-1. |

APPENDIX

THE PORTUGUESE CHIEFS AT GOA.

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|---|------------|
| 1. Dom Francisco da Gama, Conde da Vidigueira.** | 1597-1600. |
| 2. Ayres de Saldana.** | 1600-1605. |
| 2. Martim Affonso de Castro.** | 1605-1607. |
| 4. Dom Fr. Aleix de Menezes— Archbishop of Goa.* | 1607-1609. |
| 5. Andre Furlado de Mândonea.* | 1609. |
| 6. Ruy Loureco da Tavora.* | 1609-1612. |
| 7. Dom Jaromymo de Azevedo.** | 1611-1617. |
| 8. Dom Joao Coutinho, Conde de Redondo.** | 1617-1619. |
| 9. Fernao de Albuquerque.* | 1619-1622. |
| 10. Dom Francisco de Gama, Comd de Vidigueira.** | 1622-1627. |

**Viceroys

*Governors.

(From Frederick Danavars : *The Portuguese in India*, Vol. II, Appendix B.)

THE NIZĀMS'ĀHĪ GOVERNORS AT CHAUL.

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|---------------|-----------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. Sirūr Khān | About 1605 A.D. | (<i>Q.B.I.S.M.</i> -XII-3-4, 288) |
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| 2. Abdul Karīm. | 1609 A.D. | (Bombay Presidency, Gazetter, Kolaba, 435-36) |
| 3. Siddī Surūl. | 1618 A.D. | <i>Ibid.</i> |
| 4. Siddī Yākūt | 1620 A.D. | <i>Ibid.</i> |
| 5. Habashī Khān | End of 1623 or early in 1624. | <i>Ibid.</i> |

References and notes

1. *C.S.H.I.-II*, 485.
2. *Ibid.*, 488-89.
3. J.N. Dasgupta: *India in the seventeenth Century*, Appendix 'C'.
4. *C.S.H.I.-II*, 498.
5. *Pi.D.V.-II*, 72, dated April 4, 1623; *P.S.S.-I*, 185.
6. *E.F.I.-III*, 192-3.
7. It was renamed as Murtizābād at least as early as 1539 A.D. (*S.C.S.-IX*, Art. 2, *Q.B.I.S.M.-XXIV-4*, 2.). However it has retained its former name even today.
8. Prof. P.S. Pissurlencar's paper in 'Shivāji Souvencir' and *E.R.S.-II*, 358.
9. Section III of Chapter 14.
10. *S.C.S.-IX* (*Q.B.I.S.M.-XXIV-4*, 16.)
11. *Pi.D.V.-II*, 72, dated April 1, 1623; *P.S.S.*, 185.
12. *E.F.I.-II*, 296
13. The Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, Māldives, the Malucco and Brazil, II, Pt. 1, 206-7.
14. Document 1115, *Documentos Remetidos da India*, Tomo V, dated the 20th Feb., 1619 A.D., Lisbon, 1935.
15. *Archivo Portugese Oriental*, fas. 3, 162.
16. *Ibid.*
17. *Ibid.*, Fas. 168, V, 502-3, dated the 26th Feb., 1595 A.D.
18. *Ibid.*, IX, 477.
19. *Ibid.*, Fas. 3, 168, V, 502-3, dated Feb. 26, 1595 A.D.
20. *Ibid.*, Fasc. 3, XXIV, 691, dated Feb. 5, 1597 A.D.
21. *Ibid.*
22. *Ibid.*, Fasc. 3, 304, II, 801-802, dated January 8, 1598.
23. *Ibid.*
24. *Ibid.*, Fasc. 3, 366, I, 933-934, dated December 10, 1598.
25. Couto: *Decadas-II*, Ch. 30, Vol. XIII, 168 *et. seqq.*

26. *Monques de Reino*, no. 4, Ano de 1595 to 1598, fol. 629.
27. F. Guerreiro. cit Relacao, 6. (Quoted by Prof. P.S. Pissurlencar: "The Extinction of the Nizāms'āhi' in the Sardesai Memorial Volume, 28.)
28. *Monques de Reino*, Ano de 1601 to 1602 A.D., fol. 18.
29. *Ibid.*
30. S.C.S.-IX, Art. 18, (*Q.B.I.S.M.-XXIV-4, 18*).
31. Bulhao Pato: *Documento Remetidos da India*, 1, 34.
32. *Livros das Moncoes*, no. 11, 40 (Goa Records.)
33. Faria Souza: *Mannel de Asia Portuguesa*, Tomo III, Pt. 2, Ch. 9.
34. B. Pato: *Documento Remetidos da India*, fl. 1880, 253-54.
35. *T.J.-I*, 160-162.
36. The ambassador referred to by the Portuguese monarch was Mukar Tab Khān who was converted to Christianity, receiving Baptism at the Convent of St. Augustin in Goa. (Bocarro, *Decada XIII*, Vol. I, 354.)
- 36a *Ibid.*
37. *Documentos Remetidos da India*, Tomo I, 253-254.
38. *Ibid.*; Doc. 198, 189.
39. Gerson da Cunha: *Notes on the History and Anquities of Chanl.*
40. Antonio Bocarro: *Historia da India*, Decada 13, Pt. 1.
41. Willam Foster: Introduction to the Voyage of Nicholas Downton, 1614-15. (Downton in *Marine Records*, Vol. X).
42. *F.R. Miscellaneous*: Vol. 25, 59-60.
43. *Ibid.*
44. A Narrative of the Fight from Swally: *Purchas His Pilgrims* p. (1626), 526.
45. Antonio Bocarro: *Decadas XIII*, Vol I, 48 *et seqq.*
46. The Vessel, referred to by the Viceroy, is that of Mecca, captured in August, 1613, by the Captain of the Fleet of Diu, Luis de Brito de Melo, originated the war between the Mughal Emperor Jahāngīr and the Portuguese, the former having in consequence given orders "to lay hands upon the possessions of the Portuguese and vassals of His Majesty and of the persons of all who were in his hands, and numbered more than twenty." (Antonio Bocarro: *Decada XIII*, Ch. 46,200). The treaty of 7th June, 1613 celebrated between the said Emperor and the Viceroy D. Jeornimode Azevedo, brought the war to an end. (See P.S. Pissurlencar: *Agentos Hindus de Diplomacia Portuguesa na India*, 6-7).
47. *Livros das Moncoes*, no. 12, 47V-49V.
48. Captain Downton at Swally Hole to the Company. (*O.C. 181, India Office Records*, printed in the Letters Received, II, 167.
49. William Edwards at Ahmadabad to the Company. (*O.C. 177, Letters Received*, II, 148.)
50. Antonio Bocarro: *Decadas XIII*, Vol. 1, 48, *et seqq.*
51. *Livros das Moncoes* No. 12, 164-5.
52. *T.J.-I*, 312-3.
53. Antonio Bocarro: *Decadas XIII*, Vol. 1, 48, *et seqq.*; for details of the treaties of 1615 and 1617 A.D., consult *Q.B.I.S.M.-XII-2-3-4*. (Prof. P.S. Pissurlencar's original copies in Portuguese have been translated by D.V. Apte. into Marathi).

54. Antonio Bocarro: *Decadas*, Ch. CLXXII.
55. *Documentos Rometicidos da India*, Document 1115, Tomo V, dated Feb. 20, 1619 A.D., Lisbon, 1935.
56. *Ibid.*, Document 1115 of Feb. 20, 1619 A.D.
57. *Ibid.*, Document 1145 of Feb. 26, 1619 A.D.
58. *Ibid.*
59. *Ibid.*, Document 1115 dated the 20th Feb., 1619 A.D.
60. J.N Sarkar: *Aurangzib*, I-II, (Edition of 1925), 188-90.
61. S.C.S.-IV, Art. 710, dated the 28th June, 1625. (*Q.B.I.S.M.*-X111-1); P.S S. 2406.
62. *E.F.I.*-II, 243.
63. *P.S.S.*-I, 438; *S.C.P.*, 54; *J.S.* (S S.-4).
64. *Journal of Indian History*, 1938, 148.
65. *Ibid.*, 141.

N.B.: Dr. Radhey Shyam's statement in his work on "*The Life and Times of Malik Ambar* (p. 117) to the effect that from 1609 to 1615 A.D. the Portuguese avoided open conflicts with Malik Ambar is completely invalidated by the events mentioned in the above narrative.

Malik Ambar and the English

I. Introduction:

For an intelligent understanding and appreciation of mutual relations and dealings of Malik Ambar and the English, it is necessary to take note of the latter's position in the Moghul Empire and the Nizāms'āhī Kingdom from 1600 A.D. to 1627 A.D. It is well-known fact that the Portuguese were the pioneers in opening up commercial intercourse with India in the fifteenth century by searoute. Till 1612 A.D., they exercised and enjoyed an unchallenged monopoly of Indian trade. When the Dutch and the English simultaneously entered into the field of commercial rivalry, the Portuguese could not maintain their own.

Geographical, religious, economic and political causes led England and Holland to defy openly the Papal Bull issued in favour of Spain and Portugal by virtue of which all the world had been divided exclusively between these two countries. *Firstly*, as the passage to India *via* the Cape of Good had passed under the effective control of the Portuguese, other nations were forbidden from trading with India by this route. The people of Holland and England made futile efforts to find out the fabled North-west and North passages to India. So, the Papal Bull had to be defied by those who wanted to trade with India. *Secondly*, the spread of Reformation movement over the continent of Europe had caused a general rebellion against the Pope's spiritual power and authority; and several countries, including England and Holland, severed their spiritual relations with the Pope. *Thirdly*, the forcible annexation of Portugal by Spain had far-

reaching political effects in Europe. Before the union of the two kingdoms, England and Holland had been at peace with Portugal and the united Netherlands traded freely with Lisbon. After 1580 A.D., the port of Lisbon, now under the territorial sovereignty of Philip II, closed its gates to the rebels of the Low Countries and Queen Elizabeth of England was persuaded by her subjects, especially by the merchants and buccaneers, to wage an open war against Spain. In 1579 A.D., Holland made a common cause with England against the naval supremacy and trading monopoly of the Portuguese in the East. In 1588 A.D., the Spanish Armada was utterly defeated by the English and thereby the Portuguese as well as the Spanish naval power received a fatal blow. Thus, the Dutch and the English could enter the field of commercial rivalry in the East after the suppression of the Portuguese naval supremacy.

The English had looked with bitter jealousy at the increasing wealth of the Portuguese and Spaniards which accrued from their commercial enterprise in far-off countries. They also eagerly wished to share their commercial prosperity. Queen Elizabeth identified herself with the commercial aspirations of her age.

Evidently, the foundation of the East India trade was mainly an expression of the growing national desire for commerce.

After various phases of open and secret oppositions, rivalries and struggles, the British beginnings in Western India were marked by the establishment of the following factories in the early seventeenth century :

1. Surat-1613 A.D. (Orme's Historical Fragments, p.330)
2. Ajmer-1616 A.D.
3. Ahmadābād-1618 A.D. (*E.F.I.*, 1618 to 1621 A.D., introduction, p.v.)
4. Broach.-1618 A.D. (*Ibid.*)
5. Āgrā-1618 A.D. (Cambridge History of India, Vol. V. 84)
6. Burhānpur-1616 A.D. (*E.F.I.*, 1618 to 1621 A.D., Introduction).

Besides these factories, some more were established at Cambay, Bassein, Kārwar, Mangalore, Cannānore, and Cālicut on the western coast and Masulipatam (Maslipatam-1611 A.D.),

Petāpolī (Nizāmabād), Mylāpore, Madrās, and Negāpatma on the eastern coast¹.

The factories at Surat, Bassein, Broach, Cambay, Barodā and Ahmadābād were situated close to the northern frontiers of the Nizāms'āhī territory. The main trade route lay from Surat to Ahmadabad and proceeded *via* Ajmer to Āgrā. Naturally, any war between the Moghuls and the Nizāms'āhī Kingdom could bring Malik Ambar in contact with the English factories whose trading activities were conducted on the northern borders of the Deccan States.

There were no factories or settlements of the English in the Nizāms'āhī Kingdom till the death of Malik Ambar. The Portuguese regarded the English and the Dutch as unwelcome intruders against their longstanding monopoly of the Indian trade. The Portuguese, in league with the Nizāms'āhī Premier and Regent, made deliberate efforts to keep off the English and the Dutch from the Nizāms'āhī dominion by the creation of hindrances and obstructions against the latter, incorporated in a treaty made in 1615 A.D.² It is needless to say that the contact of the English with Malik Ambar occurred mostly outside the Nizāms'āhī territory.

II. *The Policy of the English at the Outset :*

The English East India Company professed to be a purely trading body at first. The early policy of the English has never been better enunciated than by Sir Thomas Roe, who was ambassador at the Moghul Court from 1612 to 1615 A.D., and attempted to secure a regular commercial treaty between the Moghul Emperor and the King of England. This he found to be impossible of achievement. In 1616 A.D., he wrote in a letter of advice to the Directors of the Company: "A war and traffic are incompatible. . . It is the begging of the Portugal, notwithstanding his many rich residencies and territories, that he keeps soldiers that spend it. . . It hath been the error of the Dutch, who seek planatation here by sword. They turn a wonderful stock, they prowle in all places, they possess some of the best soldiers; yet their dead pays consume all the gain. Let this be received as a rule, that if you will profit, seek it at sea and in quiet

trade."³ The English could not and did not, however, closely adhere to this policy of peaceful commerce for long. They actually took part in the Indian politics in a clandestine fashion, whenever they could do so without detriment to their commercial enterprises and activities. At times, they were dragged into warfare against Indian potentates much against their will to protect their trade and commerce. On realising the inherent weakness of the Indian rulers, the English began to harbour territorial designs on the Indian soil, where they had come with the declared and avowed intention of purely commercial activities.

III. *Commodities of Trade :*

The Malabar coast was open to the English trade with the result that their East India Company could deal in saltpetre, pepper, cardamoms, cassia lignis, (Wild cinnamon), for cargoes of westward bound vessels. Indigo was procured at Sarkhej (near Āgrā), and its extensive use in Europe for dyeing made it at first the most valuable article of the Company's trade. Soon, however, cotton goods, both plain and patterns come into favour in England, which helped to displace the more expensive linen imported from Holland and Germany. Among the miscellaneous exports to England may be mentioned cotton-yarn (largely used for... cloth manufacturers), drugs, lac (for dyeing), carpets and (later) sugar. The chief exports from England into India were broad cloth (chiefly in demand at the court), swordblades, tin and lead, quick-silver, and vermilion, Mediterranean coal, ivory (of African origin), tapestries, gold and silver embroideries and other articles of European manufacture.

The English merchants brought sugar, tea, "porcelain" "laccared ware", quick-silver, "tuthinag" and copper in India for sale both in India and England. From Siam and the Philippines islands were exported *coureys* (little sea shells), gold and elephant's teeth (ivory) came from Sumatra in exchange of corn and horses came from Busra, Persia and Muscat.

IV. *The Nature of English Trade :*

"The profits accruing to Europeans by their trade to Indos-

tan, arise much more from the commodities which they purchase in that country (India) than from those which they send thither."⁴

The English, like other Europeans in India, acted as money-lenders and also conducted retail trade.

The officers of the Company advanced money to the artisans who worked in the Deccan and other parts of the country. The Company gave money in advance to its officers for the goods, which were being made for the following year. It was a powerful incentive for the artisans to work more willingly for the Company on account of this ready money. Consequently, the cargoes of the vessels could be kept ready before they arrived in ports. Being quickly loaded, they were able to seize the good season for their homeward journey.

V. The Administrative Organisation :

The Administration of the East India Company on the Western coast was vested in the President and his Council of Surat. The President also bore the title of Governor. The latter title was not merely connected with the administration of justice. It signified also the powers of Military Command within a fortified town or factory. It marked him out as the head of the garrison, while the title of President marked him out as a Civil Administrator. The President and Governor, in theory, was not more than the senior member and Chairman of the Council in which alone authority was vested. The only recognised privilege was that of giving a casting vote in case of ties. But, in practice, he exercised a wide though undefined influence on the proceeding of the government. The other members of the Council were heads of the various mercantile offices. After the cession of Bombay by the Portuguese to the English, the office of the Vice-President and Deputy Governor of Bombay, under the supreme direction and control of the President and Council of Surat, was inaugurated in 1660 A.D.

VI. The Contemporary Presidents at Surat :

The tenures of the following Presidents of the head factory

at Surat were co-extensive with the regime of Malik Ambar.⁵

- | | |
|--------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Thomas Aldworth | 1613-15 A. D. |
| 2. Thomas Kerridge | 1616-21 A.D. ⁶ |
| 3. Thomas Rastell | 1621-25 A.D. |
| 4. Thomas Kerridge | 1625-28 A.D. |

VII. *Encounters with English:*

The first contact of Malik Ambar with the English dates back to the beginning of the year, 1609 A.D. This contact, though not of very serious nature, affected the activities of the English adversely. In this year, Malik Ambar with armies of the Deccan Sultānates invaded, the territory of Bāglān (Khāndesh) Chief, Pratap S'āh. The invading army captured forts and towns of the Bāglān Chief.⁷ "In 1609 (Feb) the English merchant, Hawking, travelling from Surat to Burhānpur, even with an escort of about sixty Pathān horse, was attacked by a troop of outlaws (the Deccanis)."⁸ This attack on Bāglān and the Moghul defence thereof threw the normal communication and transport out of gear for a fairly long time.

The second direct and friendly contact with the English occurred in September, 1613 A.D. At this time, consequent to the capture of a large Surat ship, the *Rahīmī* by the Portuguese, hostilities broke out between them and the Moghuls. Nicholas Downton records that the Moghuls and the Kings of the Deccan joined to root out the Portuguese from the country⁹. In the following month Nicholas Downton states: "The Deccans have besieged the Bazaim (i.e., Bassein) and taken the towns of Chaul and besieged the castle; and that within these 14 days the Portugals had burnt the Cadra of Dābul as she rid before the castle of Chaul."¹⁰ In order to encounter the Portuguese, Malik Ambar was obliged to ask for supplies of shipping, arms and ammunition from the English. The attitude of the English regarding this request can be gleaned from the following excerpt:

"Some 8 league to the southward of Chaul came a small canoe aboard, with five Decanes in her from the Governor or Jingera Rajpore (Janjirā-Rājāpur) to request us with our ship-

ping for two days to anchor in his harbour, desiring to have acquaintance with us, and especially at present, for that they having wars with Portugals, stood in great want of some munition of which they were persuaded (we) could furnish them. Withal delivering a secret from the captain, importing that by directions from Mallacmbar (Malik Ambar) General of the forces of the Decans, he was to entreat all such English passing along the coast to anchor in some of their harbours, he desiring much some trade and commerce with us, and especially, some of our munition, in regard of their difference with the Portugals; wherein if we would please them, we should be assured of anie kindness we would desire. Whereunto the General made answer that by order from employers in England he was enjoined nor to touch at any port upon that coast before his arrival at Surat, and to digress from his design he durst not. Yet for to please that worthy Governor at his return, if time permitted them, he proposed to see him; and to this effect write two letters, one to Governor Mallacamber (Malik Ambar) and the other to the captain of the Fort, to satisfy their demands; and in requital of a small present of fruit, sent the captain two swordblades and a pair of knives; likewise to each of them (he gave) one knief piece, wherewith they thought themselves well requited."¹¹

VIII. The third direct contact of Malik Ambar with the English occurred in 1617 A.D. At the outset, the relations of Malik Ambar with the English were not quite amicable. However, in 1617, A.D., while a debtor of Ralph had fled to Malik Ambar's camp, the latter ordered a clandestine search at the instance of Sir Thomas Roe. The said debtor slipped away to Bijapur. At this juncture, Malik Ambar expressed his desire to buy English cloth and swords for his soldiers. This offered an opportunity, says, Sir Thomas Roe, "to vend dead commodities."¹² In the same year, Malik Ambar led a naval expedition against Surat and put off the evaluation of palm groves and orchards at Chaul for the time being." . . . It appeared to him that he would do so with still greater advantage *after defeating the English*. . . But this turned out to be quite different from what he had expected."¹³ From this statment it may be concluded that Malik Ambar did not meet with expected success against the English at Surat.

Hereafter the political relations and dealings of Malik Ambar with the English were far from friendly. Both of them were engaged in hostilities against each other from November, 1620 A.D., which came to an end with the death of the Nizāms'āhī Protector.

Malik Ambar's soldiers came into first direct conflict with the English, when the English caravan of Barhānpur was plundered, whereby they lost '14 churles' of indigo in Southern Mālwa sometime in November, 1620 A.D.¹⁴ The unfortunate calamity fell on the English, while fresh hostilities had broken out between the Mohuls and the Deccan kings.¹⁵ The generalissimo of the allied kings of the Deccan, the celebrated Malik Ambar, had invaded Khāndesh, invested Burhānpur and pushed his light troops across the Tāptī. This bitter incident made the English apprehensive of obtaining any satisfaction from Malik Ambar for their losses.¹⁶

The second occasion of a similar but of a more serious contact occurred not long after. Early in March, 1621 A.D., the English were robbed of their Āgrā caravan,¹⁷ while it was on its way to Surat where preparations were afoot to despatch shipping to England in good time to avoid storms of the English seas in winter. Before hazarding their goods by the usual route, the English did not fail to adopt precautionary measures against further plunder in future. The following measures were proposed to safeguard their goods:

1. To obtain a 'safe-conduct' from Malik Ambar with permission to transport goods through his territory.¹⁸
2. To transport goods piecemeal to avert the loss of the whole lot.¹⁹
3. To compound with Rājā Limjī to give a free and unmolested passage through his country of 'Avaus'²⁰
4. To convey goods by such ways as may be reported to be safe and cheap, at the same time, and to accompany the Dutch caravan, if the Dutch choose to do so.²¹
5. To accompany Virjī Vorā whose goods were delayed at Mandu.²²

Ultimately, the first proposal prevailed. It was decided to depute Edward Heynes to negotiate for procuring a safe-conduct from Malik Ambar. Although the prospects of a safe-conduct appeared to be very remote, the English succeeded finally in securing it. The safe-conduct was confirmed by Yāqūt Khān, the general of the Deccanī forces, "who sent two of his servants to accompany the goods."²³ All other measures for the transport of articles of merchandise were abandoned in favour of the first proposal. The goods were detained afterwards by the governor of 'Ul pore' for six or seven days. After a week, followed the pillage of the caravan by the Deccanī army. According to the English version, they did not allow themselves to be plundered without offering resistance. But their resistance proved of little avail as the Deccanī army far outnumbered them. The unhappy incident is described in these words:

"Notwithstanding sundry assurances in writing given as well by the general of Deccan forces as well as Colonel of that regiment that encountered the *Cāphilā* was by them pillaged and many of our people wounded in its defence."²⁴ A Dutch letter from Masulipatam states that the robbery took place about a day's journey from Mandū. The Dutch caravan, which had travelled down with that of the English had been compelled to stop at the latter place due to the desertion of camel-drivers and, thus, escaped pillage.²⁵

It is well-known fact in history that the Moghuls were a traditional enemy of the Deccan Sultānates. The English kept friendly relations with the Moghuls. This explains one of the causes of the pillage resorted to by the soldiers of Malik Ambar. Other causes were also at work for his unfriendly and unsympathetic attitude towards the English.

On the basis of the treaty made in 1615 and 1617 A.D. with the Portuguese, it may be safely concluded that, at the intervention of the latter, the former indulged in the flagrant breach of the terms of the pledged safe-conduct. A close study of the afore-said treaties reveals that the feelings of Malik Ambar were ranged on the side of the Portuguese against the English. The Portuguese considered the English unwelcome intruders on the Indian soil. According to the treaty of January, 1617 A.D.,

Malik Ambar had assured the Portuguese not to grant any territory to the English and the Dutch and not to assist them in any way.²⁶ Being pioneers in opening up trade relations with India, the Portuguese commanded far greater influence with Malik Ambar than any other European nation. Both Malik Ambar and the Portuguese viewed with suspicion, alarm and fear the no-rolling tide of the Moghul conquests in the Deccan. This was one of the factors which brought about a community of interests between the Nizāms'āhī State and the Portuguese Government in India. The Portuguese had lost their commercial monopoly in India with the advent of the English and sought to foster their interests. It was but natural of the English to promote their own commercial interests wherever they could exert their influence and power.

The Surat factors eagerly awaited the arrival of the caravan, referred to above, but in vain. It was too late even to despatch the half-laden ships anchored in the harbour to England. The Surat Council came to the decision that the homeward voyage of these ships should be deferred till after the monsoon, as the authorities in England had issued strict orders that none of their ships was 'to fall with the coast of England after the month of August.' The ships were to 'winter' in the Red Sea during the monsoon season.

VII. *The English decided to practise Reprisals :*

On learning of the forcible seizure of mercantile caravan, in the joint meeting of the Surat Council and the Sea Council, it was resolved firmly on the 16th March, 1621 A.D., that "no delay shall be made in prosecuting the attempt for restitution. "It was decided that reprisals should be made on the Nizāms'āhī frigates which were bound for the Red Sea or returning to home ports.' The Surat Council, therefore, determined that both ships, which were half-laden off Surat, together with the "London" should spend the coming monsoon in the Red sea ²⁷.

The modes of retaliation on Malik Ambar as suggested by the Surat Council were:

1. "the timely seizure with the monsoon, if one of the fleet be forthwith despatched thereto, is not unlikely."

2. "we be not prevented by the Dutch next year who have commission for the like exploit."
3. "albeit she (the "LONDON") should miss the Dābul or Chaul juncks through late dispatch, yet she may light on other vessels of Diu etc., to defray charge at least, though procure not restitution for the present loss. . ."
4. "in case she. . .be prevented of all former hopes, there is yet a further refuge (means) by surprising and enforcing the ransom of the aforesaid vessels in port."
5. "lastly, failing of the expectation in the alleged (above) she may in her return to Surat await the whole fleet off juncks at their usual land on this coast."

From the above excerpt, it is evident that the Dutch helped the English and made a common cause with the latter.

The "LONDON" was chosen in particular to under-take the difficult task of the mission for the following reasons:

1. Due to her more than ordinary strength, she would resist the expected attack of the Portuguese.
2. She was a good sailor and of "more countenance than smaller ships for that attempt but also for distribution of men into such vessels as the shall surprize."
3. There were many great ships in the south which were engaged in landing and therefore anyone of them could not be spared this purpose.'²⁸

The above-mentioned modes of reprisals could hardly be translated into practice, before events took a very strange and unexpected turn. It had been arranged that prior to their departure off the Indian coast, the "Hart" and "Roebuck" were to keep vigilance off Chaul and Dābhol, the ports of Ahmadnagar and Bijāpur respectively. For upwards of a month, vigorous blockade was maintained in spite of severe storms. Their efforts proved bootless and their time and energy were wasted to no good purpose. In the meantime, the Dutch captured one of Malik Ambar's frigates, Captain Weddell expressed his indignation at the action of the Dutch by calling it "Heathenish Proceedings" on the part of the Hollanders.

VIII. *Efforts for Peaceful Settlement :*

It is interesting to note that the English factories tried to make good their loss by negotiations before actually having resort to reprisals. But, unfortunately, these proposals of amicable and pacific settlement of their differences with Malik Ambar fell on his unwilling ears. Malik Ambar, instead of compensating them for their loss, ordered them to leave his territory, holding out the threat of their forcible expulsion from it, if they did not choose to live as "(peaceful) and discreet merchants." The English factors admitted that "violent course" was "troublesome and unprofitable." Hence, in spite of the fact that ways to Malik Ambar's Court were unsafe, insecure and impassable, they did not proceed to make restitution of their loss by force. This move of the English is not alluded to elsewhere in their contemporary documents. The account of Edward Heynes and Robert Hutchinson is the only document, from which one may infer that the English did not deviate from the path of peaceful redress of their grievances until their minds were filled with a sense of frustration and exasperation due to Malik Ambar's flat refusal to listen to their entreaties and unexpected threats and warnings for their expulsion from his dominion.

IX. *Malik Ambar's Offer of Satisfaction for the Loss :*

While the English had blockaded the Nizāms'āhī littoral, Malik Ambar offered to treat with them in a letter addressed to Kerridge the President of the Surat Council, on the 22nd September, 1921 A.D.²⁹ It is apparent that Malik Ambar expressed his eagerness to reach a settlement in respect of the loss of the English, as he was overcome with fear for his ships being captured. Kerridge informed Robert Jefferies on the receipt of the aforesaid letter. Jefferies wrote on this occasion: "wherefore (to join hands with opportunity) consultation, after due consideration commanded to solicit in that behalf, hostage being given for security"³⁰ This letter seems to have reached the President on the 28th September, 1921.

To Robert Jefferies and Nicholas Crispe was entrusted the mission of procuring compensation of the English loss of their

caravan. At Deogiri (Daulatābād), Khawāji Dāud, a merchant held in high esteem by Malik Ambar, was sent purposely to receive and accompany Messrs Jefferies and Crispe to the Court.³¹

As Malik Ambar's envoy arrived late, the two Englishmen deputed on the mission could not start on the day of their arrival. The English mission seems to have started in the afternoon of the next day, that is, on the 11th October, 1621 A.D. Before their departure, Robert Jefferies and Nicholas Crisps had already learnt of the capture of one of Malik Ambar's ships. Richard Swanley mentions that Pinder, master on board the "Andrew", effected the capture of Malik Ambar's junck while on its return journey from the Red Sea. This event is recorded in his account in the entry of the 29th September³² whereas Robert Jefferies and Nicholas Crispe wrote on the 10th October, 1621 A.D. to the Surat Council that "our new fleet from England has eight days since taken their juncke; which to us was a festival..."³³ According to the version of Messrs Jefferies and Crispe, the date of the capture of Malik Ambar's junck can be fixed on the 2nd October, 1621 A.D. This date does not agree with another document incorporated in Forster's *English Factories in India*. Edward Heynes and Hutchinson wrote from Burhānpur to the Council at Surat on the 2nd October 1621: "All men confirm the news of taking a Junck of Malik we hope of the truth, and that the full satisfaction of our masters."³⁴ This points to the conclusion that the capture must have taken place sometime before the 2nd October as the two factors learnt the news of the event on that date. Some days must have elapsed in reaching the news from the coast to Burhānpur. Richard Swanley's account appears to be more accurate than other versions on this point. It is not possible to say what led Foster to conclude that Swanley's date was wrong.³⁵

The "Governor" of Deogiri (Daulatābād?) entreated them to write to the President and Council at Surat to the effect that "their goods might be kept from spoil or purlion, and that kind of entreaty be extended to such of their people as shall be detained in our custody untill such time as you should understand what success we should find with Malik; whereunto answered that we sought to make [] in Malik []

was assured such was intended both to their goods and them? Albet we did never write unto you concerning the same; whereas they seemed revived and much satisfied and gave many thanks for the comfort we gave them. . .”³⁶ Robert Jefferies and Nicholas Crispe further remarked in the letter of the 10th October: “that account of petty pilferry pluck not a great piece from our masters purse in our now stout authentical treaty with Malik Ambar, and desire hopes may be accomplished, both for our fair entreaty with Malik and more friendly composement of the difference of the same. Siddi Ambar, Siddi Yāqūt and Siddi Raihmān do in all love salute Mr. Kerridge and entreat that Siddi Sarūr, the captain of the juncke, for being in great esteem with Malik Ambar, may have his respect accordingly, with friendly usage unto them all, whereof our parts do make no question.”³⁷

X. The Failure of the Mission of Robert Jefferies and Nicholas Crispe :

The mission arrived at a place two miles away from Daulatābād on the 20th October to interview Malik Ambar. Jefferies delivered the Council's letter to Malik Ambar. The letter was read out to him by a Portuguese renegade, who acted as his interpreter. Malik Ambar asked what was the total amount of loss incurred by the English. After this inquiry, the English mission envoys received from his servants “six sheep, rice, meat, etc., for their provisions.” They were sent for later on by him. They had brought nine yards of scarlet as a present to him. His door-keeper did not give them access to him. While he was consulting Jasper Gomes, the Portuguese renegade, Jefferies requested admittance to represent the standpoint of the English East India Company. The request was not acceded to. The Englishmen sent a message that they had brought a present to be made. At this, he refused to accept it until differences were composed amicably. He then asked Jefferies whether relations between man and man were ‘governed by conscience and justice.’ Malik Ambar laid the fault for the robbery of the caravan on the English. He asserted that the English did not follow the ways which were suggested to them. He further added, “If the Eng-

lish be men of conscience to come to him for money and yet rob his ship." Evidently, the capture of his junck by the "Andrew" flared up his anger.³⁸ Thus, the English mission ended in a despairing failure, Robert Jefferies was obliged to return from Malik Ambar's court "without any restitution or expectation,"³⁹ and arrived at Surat about the middle of November, 1621.⁴⁰

XI. *The Capture of S'āhjahān's Junck:*

Finding that their peaceful efforts ineffective for the compensation of the losses, on the 20th November, 1621 A.D., the English factors held up a junck off Surat belonging to Prince S'āhjahān while returning from the Red Sea.⁴¹ In the junck, they found 7,000 rials belonging to the subjects of the allied kings of the Deccan, which were attached by them. Isāq Beg, a Moghul officer at Surat, threatened the English with imprisonment for their failure to restore the goods belonging to the 'Dābul' slave and warned that Masulipatam would be seized by Malik Ambar's order and no mercy would be shown either to the Dutch or the English.⁴² At this, Johan Godwin referred the matter to the President of the Surat Council at Swally Hole for early disposal. The captured junck was restored, it appears, sometime in January 1622 A.D.⁴³

Since the treaty of peace had been signed by Malik Ambar with the Moghuls after the month of November in the year 1621 A.D., the English apprehended that the Nizāms'āhī Premier had written to Prince S'āhjahān to expel them out of the Moghul dominion.

From the consultation of the President and Council of Surat on the 20th July, 1622 it is learnt that negotiations for the reparation of the English loss were at progress with an agent of Malik Ambar. It was decided "to accept the prime cost and charges of the good, plus Rs. 3,000 for the losses of private men, and on these terms to restore the junck seized by the English and the full value of its contents"⁴⁴. It was further decided; "Rs. 3,000 shall be divided by the Company, and any surplus after all claimants are satisfied shall go into its trea-

surey.”⁴⁵ The English laid stress on the reparation as the condition precedent to the restoration of the captured junk.⁴⁶

Some English factors had expressed misgivings about the intentions of Malik Ambar. They sounded a word of warning that “if Malik Ambar’s performance with you depends on the friendship and *kaul* of the Dutch, then may we think the finishing of that business is assuredly doubtful”⁴⁷ The English waited for more than six months in eager expectancy for the compensation of their loss. But as their patience was coming to an end, they waited for the departure of their ships for ‘Mocho’. Till the despatch of these ships, the English suspended their project of seizing the Nizāms’āhī junk.

XII. *The Policy of the English and Malik Ambar:*

While tracing the political relations and dealings of Malik Ambar with the English, some aspects of their mutual policy towards each other have been expounded. Here those phases of their policy are delineated which have been omitted in the foregoing discussion. It may be noted that the phases of their mutual policy underwent varied and marked changes according to the circumstances of each case.

XIII. *The Englishmen’s firm determination to seek restitution:*

The English made a resolute determination, after the capture of their mercantile caravan in March, 1621 A.D., to obtain full satisfaction for their losses.⁴⁸ It was boldly declared by them that they would not relax their efforts for obtaining compensation of their losses until “they have received full satisfaction.”⁴⁹ They entertained a confident hope that “the Dābullers will be forced to give satisfaction to the utmost farthing.”⁵⁰ It has been already said that a decision was made to practice reprisals on the Nizāms’āhī frigates which were bound for the Red Sea or were returning to the home ports.⁵¹ The details of the reprisals have already been referred to above.

XIV. *The Capture of Malik Ambar’s frigates and its effect:*

According to Richard Swanley all attempts at the peaceful

settlement of the English claim for the satisfaction of their losses had borne no fruit. This obliged them to resort to coercive methods for obtaining compensation. Therefore, the English began to indulge in the capture of trading vessels of Malik Ambar.

On the 29th September 1621, Pinder on board the Andrew brought in a prize which was 'a juncke of Malik Ambar and has been captured while coming from the Red Sea'.⁵² After a few days, two more vessels were captured by Captain Blyth on the 20th October, 1621 A.D.⁵³

The capture of the vessels had its desired effect on Malik Ambar, who showed an inclination to listen to the entreaties of the English. Malik Ambar informed the English factors about their high-handed attitude towards him. At this, they replied that "(we) at first sought restitution by way of petition to Malik before we had taken such violent course (which?) was so troublesome and unprofitable".⁵⁴ Malik Ambar warned the English against such activities threatening them to force them out of the Nizāms'āhī Kingdom in case they "would not live as (peaceful?) and discreet merchants."⁵⁵ To this, they replied earnestly "notwithstanding the time of winter had made ways unsafe and unpassable for any of our nation to travel to the court of Malik Ambar with security, yet we had endeavoured to make our recourse to his ambassador in sute (?) of satisfaction according to equity but could not be admitted to his presence."⁵⁶ They bitterly complained that he denied conversation with them and only sent scornful and proud messages in lieu of justice or restitution. They remarked to Malik Ambar that the breach of pledged words "induced us to so (show) a settled resolution as to requite him with force and from any of his ports until we were fully satisfied We intend to right our wrongs by our own force, seeing we cannot find justice by the Prince, to whom we are daily suitors."⁵⁷

It may be noted that Malik Ambar had opened negotiations with the English for fear of his vessels being captured by them in the open sea and in his ports. It has already been mentioned that the 'London' was employed by the English to escort the 'Hart' and the 'Roeback' in order to effect the capture of the

junks of Dābhol, Chaul or any other part belonging to the Nizāms'āhī dominions.⁵⁸

Though negotiations for this purpose were in progress, the English did not give up their efforts for forcing Malik Ambar to come to some definite decision in respect of the compensations for their unexpected loss of merchandise. This instead of facilitating the settlement jeopardised it by flaring up his anger. He refused pointblank to pay any attention to the repeated and earnest requests of the English factors, on learning of the seizure of a vessel by the English. Even Robert Jefferies and Nicholas Cripse deemed this act a highly impolitic and they regretted this unfortunate incident as it was calculated to foil their efforts in securing compensation. Other English factors entertained the hope that they "shall hold Malik to the more reasonable conditions in satisfying" their masters "Joan and (on conference with him) by means thereof will stand on terms of better advantage"⁵⁹

XV. The loss exaggerated:

When Malik Ambar asked how much loss the English had sustained, it was exaggerated beyond imagination. They informed him that the "prime cost" of the goods was Rs. 210,000 and its sellings price would have been not less than six lakhs of Rupees. On learning the capture of his vessel, he paid them in their own coin. He retorted that his captured vessel was valued at "ten laes" and they "night (keep?) her and expect no further satisfaction from him."⁶⁰

As he continued to be adamant on the point of satisfying the demands and claims of the English, they had to reduce them to a lower value and they had decided to accept "the prime cost and charges of goods plus Rs. 3,000 for the losses of private men" and agreed to restore the captured vessel with the full value of its contents.⁶¹ The exaggerated estimation of the English losses stood as a stumbling block in the way of composing the difference between them and Malik Ambar. A talk between the English factors and Mirzā Mahmood and Alī Razzāq throws light on this. The following relevant passage may be cited in support of this statement: "We had a long dis-

course with them concerning our present business, whereby I perceive they come four or five lacks of (*mahmudis*) short of our demands the difference being, as they say, about the price of our curall and Malik Ambar's debt, with other aversments.(?)⁶²

XVI. *The fear and desire of the Moghul intervention:*

Since Malik Ambar appears to have been eager to be at peace with the Moghuls in 1622 A.D., the English apprehended that the Nizāms'āhī Premier might seek the intervention of the Moghul Emperor to expel them from the Moghul Empire.⁶³

The English also likewise sought the intervention of the Moghuls for the recovery of their losses. It appears that Malik Ambar had made a partial compensation for their losses towards the beginning of the year, 1623 A.D. The English tried to shift the burden and responsibility for balance of the compensation on the Moghul Prince, S'āhjahān and the Moghul Emperor, Jahāngīr, on the following grounds:

1. The robbery was done within the dominions of the Moghuls and Prince Khurram protected and supported the chief "actors of that outrage, notwithstanding complaint and justice demanded against them."
2. The goods and treasures of Malik Ambar had been protected and transported in the ships of the Moghuls and thereby defeated and prevented the English from obtaining rightful satisfaction of their losses.
3. And, lastly, Malik Ambar had become a subject of Jahāngīr Pādshāh who was therefore in justice obliged to right and satisfy the first loss and charges, with the profit that might have accrued thereby.⁶⁴

The opinion for making a claim on the Moghul Emperor for the restoration of the loss was divided among the English factors. Willoughby shared the view that no claim should be made on the Moghuls as "robbery was done by another people, the King's mortal enemy and the Governor of Mandū only allowed the goods to leave on condition that he was not responsible." The other factors also did not differ from Willoughby. They observed: "as the people of Surat prevented the

English from righting themselves, they may justly be required to be charged to 'Deccanics', our original offender."⁶⁵

¹⁵ According to the version of the English, the Governor of Surat, Halim Abdullā, permitted them to confiscate all the property of the subjects of the allied Deccan kings in the detained juncks and assented not to embark any of their goods or people in the Moghul vessels without the English Licence.⁶⁶

XVII. *The English claimed "Sovereignty" in the Indian Seas:*

The English went out of their way to claim sovereignty in the Indian Seas. In the instructions from the President and Council at Surat to Captain John Hall for his voyage to Dābhol for the blockade of the Nizāms'āhī ports, it is mentioned: "Any Indian juncks met with that not provided with an English pass should also be seized."⁶⁷

XVIII *League with other European Powers:*

At times, the English allied themselves with the Dutch against Malik Ambar. The Dutch did not give continuous assistance to the English as their feelings were ranged on the side of Malik Ambar at heart. The English were apprehensive of the Dutch interference which was expected to jeopardise rather than improve the prospects of procuring compensation from Malik Ambar.⁶⁸

It has already been pointed out that the Portuguese always found it expedient to form a league against the Moghuls and the English to safeguard their interests in view of the on-rolling tide of the Moghul imperialism in the Deccan.

CHRONOLOGY

| <i>Events</i> | <i>Date</i> | <i>Authority/Authorities.</i> |
|---|-------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Malik Ambar's Capture of Bāg-lān: attack on the English Caravan. | 1609 A.D. | <i>Karr's Voyages,</i> VIII, 299. |

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|----|--|--------------------------|--|
| 2. | Malik Ambar's siege of Bassein. | 1613 A.D. | <i>Foster: The Voyage of Nicholas Down- ton to the East Indies, 1614-5, 3. Bacarro: Decadas, CLXXII.</i> |
| 3. | The Naval Ex- pedition against the English. | 1617 A.D. | |
| 4. | The Capture of the English Caravan. | March, 1617 A.D. | <i>F.R., Vol. I, 8</i> |
| 5. | The English de- cided to practise reprisals. | 16th March, 1617 A.D. | <i>Ibid., 29</i> |
| 6. | Malik Ambar's offer of satis- faction for the loss. | Sept., 1621 A.D. | <i>F.R. Miscellaneous, Vol. I, 81</i> |
| 7. | The Capture of Malik Ambar's Frigates. | 29th Sept., 1621 A.D. | <i>Robert Stanley's Account of his voyage to Surat, F.R. Vol. III pp. 168-170, 172.</i> |
| 8. | The Capture of S'ahjahān's Junck. | Nov., 1621 A.D. | |

N.B.

The following comments may be made on Dr. Stanley Shyam's de-
lineation of Malik Ambar's relations with the English.

1. The Port of Dābhol was not within the sovereign sovereignty of the Nizāms'ahī till the year, 1624 A.D.
2. Hence, 'the Nāhuda of the Great Dābhol' Malik Ambar's relations with the Englishmen at Dābhol cannot be a phase of the Nizāms'ahī Premier, Malik Ambar's relations and dealing with the English.

(Dr. Radhey Shyam: *Life and Times of Malik Ambar, 123-124*)

621 (O.C.)

References and notes

1. The Report of the Company presented to Parliament on their trade, from the year 1600 to 1615, to the

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2. *Q.B.I.S.M.*, XII, 2-3, pp. 29-33 (Persian Sources by D.V. Apte).
3. *Sir William Foster*: "Sir Thomas Roe's Embassy in India" (Oxford), 303.
4. *Orme* quoted by *J.N. Das. Gupta*, in "India in the Seventeenth Century", 45-46.
5. *H.G. Rawlinson*; *British Beginnings in Western India*. (O.U.P.), 99.
6. The title of President came into use in 1618. Agent was also used.
7. *Kerr's Voyages*, VIII, 229.
8. *Finch* in *Kerr's Voyages*, VIII, 280.
9. *W. Foster*: *The Voyage of Nicholas Downton to the East Indies, 1614-15*, p. 3.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 80-81.
12. *W. Foster*: "Sir Thomas Roe's Embassy in India," 366 (To the Factors at Surat-Add. Mss. 6115, f. 165); *Cambridge History of India*, III, 166.
13. *Bocarro*: *Decada*, Cl. CLXXII.
14. *F.R.* Vol. I, 8.
15. *E.D.*-VI, 377.
16. *F.R. Surat*, Vol. I. p. 9.
17. *M.R.* XXX, dated March 16, 1621.
18. *F.R. Surat*, 1, 9, November 29, 1620.
19. *Ibid.*
20. *F.R. Surat*, 1, 10, January 3, 1621. According to Foster, 'Avaus' is somewhere in Southern Malwa. It is probably the country of Avantl.
21. *Ibid.*
22. *F.R. Surat*, Vol. 1, p. 13, February 3, 1621.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 14, February 18, 1621.
24. *F.R. Surat*, 1, 29, March 16, 1621.
25. *Hague Transcripts*, 1st Series, IV, No. 139.
26. *S.C.S.*-IV, (*Q.B.I.S.M.*, XII-2, 31)
27. Consultation held aboard "Hart" in Swally (Suwali) Hole, by President Kerridge, Messrs Rastell James and Hopkinson of the Surat Council and Captain Richard Blyth, Commander of the fleet, with the rest the Sea Council (*F.R. Surat*, I, 29).
28. *Ibid.*
29. *Abstract of letters from Robert Jefferies to the Surat Factories*, October and November, 1621, during his mission to Malik Ambar (*F.R. Miscellaneous*, 1, 91.)
30. *Robert Jefferies in Choul Road to the Company*, October 5, 1621 (*O.C.* 998)
31. *Robert Jefferies and Nicholas Crispie at Deuger*, Near Chaul to the President and Council at Surat October 10, 1621 (*British Museum, Egerton Ms.*, 2123, f. 90)
32. *E.F.I.*-I, 296.
33. *Robert Jefferies and Nicholas Crispie at Deugur*, Near Chaul to the President and Council at Surat, October, 10, 1621. (*British Museum Egerton Ms.*, 2123, f. 90). Deoghar is about 6 Kms, north of Chaul.

34. *M.R.* Vol. XXIV.
35. *E.F.I.*-I, 286.
36. Robert Jefferies and Nicholas Crispe at Deugur, Near Chaul, to the President and Council at Surat, October, 10, 1621. (*Brit. Mus., Egerton Ms.* 2123, f. 90).
37. *Ibid.*
38. *E.F.I.*-I, 317: Abstract of letters from Robert Jefferies to the Surat Factors October and November, 1621, During His mission to Malik Ambar (*Factory Records, Miscellaneous, I, 191*).
39. Thomas Rastell Giles James, William Martin and Joseph Hopkinson at Surat to the Company, November 7, 1621 (Abstract only, *F.R. Miscellaneous, 112*).
40. *Ibid.*
41. *Ibid.*
42. John Godwin at Surat to (President Rastell at Surat), November 20, 1621 (*F.R.*-CII, f. 8).
43. Robert Hughes and John Parker at Āgrā to the Surat Factory (*F.R., Surat, Vol. CII, 100*).
44. *F.R. Surat, Vol. I, 35*.
45. *Ibid.*
46. *Ibid.*
47. *F.R. Surat, Vol. CII, 270*.
48. Consultation held abroad the Hart in Swally Road, by President Kerridge, Messrs. Rastell James and Hopkinson of the Surat Council and Captain Richard Blyth, Commander of the Fleet with the rest of the Sea Council, March 16, 1621 (Vol, I, 29)
49. Thomas Kerridge at Sea to President Fursland at Batavia April 9, 1621 (*O.C.* 950)
50. William Bidduloph at Agra to the Factors at Isaphan, June 15, 1621 (*Factory Records, Persia, Vol I, p. 3.*)
51. See *Supra*.
52. Richard Swanley's Account of his voyage to Surat. (*M.R.* Vol. XXX, III).
53. *Ibid.*
54. Edward Heynes and Robert Hutchinson at Burhānpur to the President and Council at Surat, Sept, 26, 1621.
55. *Ibid.*
56. *Ibid.*
57. *Ibid.*
58. Robert Jefferies in Chaul Road to the Company, October 5, 1621 (*O.C.* 988)
59. Robert Jefferies and Nicholas Crispe at Deugur, Near Chaul to the President and Council at Surat, Oct. 10, 1621 (*Brit. Mus., Egerton Ms., 2123, f. 99.*)
60. Abstract of letters from Robert Jefferies with Surat Factories October and November 1621, during his mission to Malik Ambar *F.R. Miscellaneous, -I, 91*).

61. Consultation of the President and Council of Surat, July 20, 1622 *F.R. Surat, I, 35*).
62. Joseph Hopkinson at Surat to President Rastell, Nov, 4, 1623 (*Factory Records, Surat CII, 431*).
63. *Ibid.*
64. Robert Hughes and John Parker at Agra to the Surat Factory, Jan. 6, 1622. (*F.R., Surat, CII, 98*).
65. Joseph Hopkins, John Willoughby, William Hill and John Glanville, at Surat to the President Rastell, Nov. 5, 1623. (*Ibid*).
66. *Ibid.*
67. (*F.R, Surat-I, 37*), dated Feb. 22, 1623.
68. President Fursland and Council at Betavia to the Bombay. Council January 11, 1622 (*O.C., 1028*).

PART III

Administrative System and Policy

Civil Administration

An administrative machinery is divided in modern times into three branches : (1) legislative, (2) executive and (3) judiciary. Before the development of the modern form of administrative system, the legislative branch was generally wanting, since laws were to be 'discovered' rather than 'made'. Whatever laws were 'made' at all, took the form of executive orders, issued by the administrative branch. Some came to be made, of course, in the modern way by the judiciary in the form of (a) case laws, (b) interpretation of the codified laws or of the existing customs, and (c) discussion of general principles. In India, all these forms of judge-made laws very often took the form of codes (*Smritis*) compiled by learned men from time to time. It need hardly be said that the main form of the administration that obtained during the time of Malik Ambar was of the above type.

The administrative machinery is, now-a-days, divided into two branches, the Civil and the Military. Before the advent of modern times the two could not be distinguished from each other very clearly. In general, the civil administrators were military administrators and leaders. Nay, they were something more. The ministers combined in themselves all the above aspects of administration, *i.e.*, they were ministers, governors, military organisers and generals rolled into one. The administrative machinery of Malik Ambar's regime was identical with this system for all intents and purposes. In this discussion, the above-noted two distinctive features have to be kept in mind in order to have a clear grasp of Malik Ambar's administration.

I. The Central Executive :

The Central Executive set up by Malik Ambar consisted of the king in form and name and a number of ministers¹ of whom the head (Pes'wa and Vazīr-i-Kul and Māmlakat-madarī) was Malik Ambar himself. In practice, however, the king counted for nothing, and, whenever he tried to assert his authority, as Murtazā Nizāms'āh II set up by him in 1601 A.D. did, he was done away with, and a more submissive one, the boy king, Burhān Nizāms'āh III, was raised to the throne to succeed the former in the year 1610 A.D. with Malik Ambar as the Chief Minister and his Representative (Vakael-i-Sultanat). Malik Ambar carried on the administration of the State in accordance with his own will and desire, the other ministers being only his meek and obedient subordinates, placed in charge of various offices to give effect to his orders. Malik Ambar's power and authority were unrestrained,² challenge only at times by occasional risings of his subordinate ministers and limited by their influence and advice accepted by him. In one of the contemporary Marāthī documents it has been said that *Malik Ambar's regime was a one-man rule.*³ It is needless to point out here that either the king or his chief minister had been an autocrat in the past. The Council of Ministers, in the real sense of the term, never existed in those times. There can be hardly any complaint against Malik Ambar, considering the prevalent administrative tendencies of those days. Without a powerful king or a powerful Chief Minister, there could be no efficient administrative machinery or administration worth the name. As a Nizāms'āhī State after 1600 A.D., that is, after the fall of Ahmadnagar into the hands of the Moghuls, was revived and created by Malik Ambar, it was natural that the King was a nominal and titular head of the State⁴ and Malik Ambar was *defacto* supreme ruler and authority and the other ministers had no other choice than to carry out his orders in their respective departmental jurisdictions. In a nutshell, *the King reigned whereas the Chief Minister and Regent ruled for all effects and purposes.* The names of a few ministers can be compiled on the basis of the historical documents as follows :

1. Mīr Abdul Fatīz (Fateh?)—An Abyssinian-Mīr Jumlā.⁵

2. Yāqūtkhān—Another Abbyssinian—Commander-in-Chief⁶ (“Sar-Naubat)
3. Haibatkhān, the elder, Perhaps, Finance Minister.⁷

Malik Ambar's regime merits a few comments in brief. His rule, though autocratic, was benevolent in effect and promoted the interests, welfare and well-being of the ruled, as far as circumstances permitted. He “Behaved to the populace with justice, kept the soliders and cultivators pleased with himself.”⁸ The contemporary Italian traveller, Pietro Della Valle, observes, “Malik Ambar administers the State Territory with such authority that at this day *this Territory is more generally known and called by the name of Malik Ambar's country*, than the Kingdom of Nizām-Sciāh. Nevertheless, this Malik Ambar governs not fraudulently, and with design to usurp but according as I have better understood since from persons informed nearer hand, he administers with fidelity and submission towards the young king.”⁹

The other nobles of the Nizāms'āhī Kingdom could not view with favour and tolerance the dominating position acquired and maintained by Malik Ambar. “The nobles of the house of Nizāms'āh,” mentions Fuzūnī Astarābādī, the author of the *Futūhāt-i-Ādils'āhī*, “each of whom considered himself as the equal of Malik Ambar, nay higher, and who were jealous of him, were on the watch to over-throw him and preferred discord to co-operation with him.”¹⁰ It may be said to the credit of Malik Ambar that he succeeded in keeping up his domineering position in the teeth of bitter opposition to the end of his life.

In connection with the history of Burhān Nizāms'āh I, the name of the four offices of Ministers occur : (1) Peshwa, (2) *Āmīr Jumlā*, (3) *Vakeel* and (4) *Sār-e-Naubat*.¹¹ These names of offices of Ministers continued in the Nizāms'āhī State to its end; but their functions seem to have changed. The Pes'wa seems to have become the Chief Minister (*Vazīr-i-Kul*). He seems to have arrogated to himself the powers and functions of *Vakeel* (*Vakeel-i-Sultānat*), the representative of the Kingdom, something resembling the *Pratīnidhī* of the old times and of Post-S'ivājī Marāthā times. S'ivājī, rather S'āhājī after him, borrowed some of the Persian names (*Pes'wā*, *Dabīr*, *Sār-e-Naubat*, *Majumdār*)

from the Nizāms'āhī Kingdom which just preceded his. Probably, the eight of the Ministers were borrowed from this source by him, and not directly from the old Hindu Polity. The designation of 'Dabīr' is to be noted.¹² This word has been used in the sense of 'Chief Secretary'. The Chief office of the Finance Minister was called *Divān Ālā*, and its head clerk was probably called *Malikanīs*. The names of the offices of other ministers cannot be gleaned at present from any sources. But again it has to be surmised that they were to carry out his dictates. Only in this way, could the central administration work.

As the ministers were governors, military organisers, and general took, they had their lieutenants, sometimes, a numbers of them, to carry out the office duties in accordance with the instructions of their immediate head and the supreme head, namely, Malik Ambar.

It seems that Malik Ambar kept control over even minute details of administrative matters and his seal was thought to be necessary in order to secure the enforcement of an order. In a letter of Sivājī addressed to Visājī Ballāl Subedār on the 17th December, 1668, there is a reference to a decision given by Malik Ambar, which bore the seal of not only the King, but also of Malik Ambar.

II. Local Administration : The Executive Bureaucracy.

A kingdom was usually divided in those time into Provinces which consisted of a number of Districts (*Sarkārs*), each of which consisted of a number of *Parganās* and each *Parganā* had its *Tālukās* or *Karyāts*-modern Tahsils or 'Circles'. The Nizāms'āhī State, after its decline on the loss of Berar, does not seem to have been divided into Provinces. But, it was certainly divided into *Sarkārs* to which there are references in some of the contemporary documents.¹³ In one of these Junner has been referred to as '*Sarkār*'. The same has been sometimes called *Māmle*¹⁴ or *Sammat*¹⁵ or *Paraganā*.¹⁶ Each *Sarkār* or *Sammat* or *Parganā* was divided into a number of *Tarfs* or *Tapes*¹⁷. Originally, '*Tarf*' was equal to a province; but, later on, it seems to have been divided into *Sarkārs*, *Sammat*s or *Parganās*; and ultimately, it became synonymous with a part of the latter. In very early

documents, 'Tape' does not seem to occur; this word becomes noticeable in the documents of the 16th century. Each 'Tarf' or 'Tape' was subdivided into 'Mahāls'; and each *Mahāl* contained a number of villages; village being the primary unit in the administrative divisions.

In the latter part of the 17th century, the chief government officer of a *Sarkār* or *Sammāt* or *Parganā* was called *Subedār*. But the documents of Malik Ambar show that the head officer of a *Sarkār*, etc., like the head officer of a *Tarf* or *Tape*, was called *Havaldār*. In some cases, he was called *Māmledār*.¹⁸ Probably, the word came to be applied to all officers of a type. There was one more officer known as *Kārkoon* who was responsible for purely revenue administration of a division such as *Sarkār* or *Tarf*. His officer was called 'Diwān', but he worked under the supervision of the *Havaldār* who was responsible for the maintenance of law and order, and, for general administration. The *Havaldār* was, as we have already said, a military officer too, and had a body of troops under him led by a *Thānedār*,¹⁹ for the maintenance of law and order. He was at times, expected to organise a military campaign and even lead it. Occasionally, he seems to have combined in him the duties of a *Kārkoon* too,²⁰ in which case he had his agents (*Mutālīks*) for the work²¹. The two *Havaldārs*, one of *Sarkār* and other of 'Tarf' performed almost similar duties in their respective spheres. The officer of the 'Mahāl' was called 'Mahāldār'²² or *Havaldār*.²³ In some cases, there were assistants (*Nāib Gaibat*).²⁴ To assist the head of each administrative division in keeping accounts, there were *Majumdārs*, whose counter parts were associated with each Minister in the Central Government.²⁵ He was not only to maintain accounts, but was also enjoined to bring about improvement in agriculture.²⁶ Each office had generally a host of clerks, who seem to have been styled *Huddedārs*, translated into Marāthī as 'Adhikārī'.²⁷ Finally, in the chain of bureaucracy, there were agents of these officers who were called *Mutālīks*.²⁸ Clerks used to change from time to time, like other officers.²⁹ The agents, sometimes deputed by them on some mission, were called *Vakeels* or *Hejibs*.³⁰ Conclusive evidence points to the fact that the officers were paid in cash.³¹ The *Majumdār* of *Tarf* Bhor was ordered to be paid 13 Hons per month, that is, Rupees

46 to 50 : his predecessor in the office having been paid only 6 Hons per month. In a *Farṁān* of Malik Ambar issued to *Chānd Khatīb* or *Māmle Sholāpur* in 1625, it is mentioned, "Your salary has been fixed."³²

What additional privileges they enjoyed is not at all evident. But it is manifest that all such officers in those times required to be paid tips or *nazarānā* for the work done for anyone of the subjects. This was a well-established practice, to which nobody took any objection or resented the payment. It was considered to be a legitimate addition to the regular salary. Those who were slack or negligent in their duties were warned or even penalised. To illustrate this point the following may be cited as an example :

Malik Ambar writes to Bahiro Ganapatī Majumdār, "The *Des'mukh* of *Tarf Bhor*. . . informs me : 'I ask him to tour from village to village to promote agriculture, but he does not do it, and whenever a *Kuṇbī*, that is, a cultivator visits the office, he allows him to go his own way. He further writes that *Serīkar* tours from village to village and brings about cultivation. It seems you sit in the office and make entries (in the books), but do not tour and look after cultivation. This will not contribute to your promotion. You now tour over the whole territory and encourage cultivation."³³ Even the *Vatandārs* and people could report against an officer not attending to his duties and get him transferred. The following extract throws ample light on the point :

"After the King's officer arrived, the *Zamindārs* saw him in connection with the questions of the civil administration of the *Māmle*, and discussed with him the question of how to bring about prosperity in the area. In case the officer did not act up to the suggestions and requests of the *Zamindārs* (i.e., the *Des'mukhs* etc), and troubled the people, the latter made him to submit and to act up to their suggestions and requests by drawing his attention to the orders issued by the King and his high officers. If he defied them also, they (i.e., *Zamindārs*) wrote direct to his Majesty to the effect that officer so and so, who was sent for the administration of the *Māmle*, reached the headquarters on date so and so, that they saw him in connection with the civil administration of the *Māmle* and acquainted him with the rules

and practices regarding revenue realisations, duties, cesses, etc., but he did not mind them and set them at nought and troubled the people who, therefore, got perturbed and disturbed, and, therefore, having thought it necessary, (they) ventured to write (about the officer's behaviour) to His Majesty, who was powerful enough and like the parents of the people, to keep an eye upon their good and issue orders accordingly, and be kindly pleased to change the officer with a view to (promote) the good of the people, and that, in case the said officer continued to remain there, the area was sure to be ruined and destroyed. Thus it was the practice during the (Nizāms'āhi?) rule to get an officer changed and to arrange for the appointment of another *Subedār*.³⁴ Malik Ambar did not hesitate to scold even the *Vatandārs*. He informed Daud Khān, *Thānedār* of *Karyāt Sangamner Wāvī* that "he had learned that Krishnāji Narsinha, *Kulkarnī* of the said township, was acting in a high-handed fashion, that though there were no dues from the people, he was habituated to showing arrears and to realise money in excess. The people therefore had begun quitting the place, (it was pointed out) that the *Kulkarnī* was not a permanent (hereditary) person. Though the assessed amount was a fixed one, he was in the habit of showing a different (i.e., greater) amount due in the village, he did not issue receipts immediately on payment of money. He did never make proper arrangements in accordance with the order of the *Kār-koon* (and) he had taken an excess amount last year, which was to be returned and the people were not pleased with him. Malik Ambar asked the *Thānedār* to explain as to why he did not enquire, if non-permanent *Kulkarnī* troubled the people and realised in excess (of the fixed amount), though his place was very near it, and to make proper arrangements and give assurance to the people and look after the agriculture so that the people might not have to complain again."³⁵ In the same connection, Malik Ambar informed the *Kār-koon* of *Parganā Sangamner* that as Pantāji Rakhmangad Kokil had represented that he was the permanent *Kulkarnī* and that he appealed to him to be reinstated, the said Pantāji Rakhmangad Kokil was to be reinstated as *Kulkarnī* and was to be allowed to do that work, and that Krishna (Narsinha) was to be removed and papers after verification with reference to the people were to be handed over (to the permanent *Kulkarnī*, then deputed.)³⁶

Evidently, Malik Ambar paid full and timely attention to the grievances of the people with a view to redress them and he did not tolerate the excesses, either of the officers or of the *Vatandārs*.

III. The Local Administration: The *Vatandars*

Besides the bureaucracy comprising of the changing officers, there was at that time, almost all over the Deccan, a permanent executive comprising of the hereditary *Vatandārs*. There were *Des'mukhs* (also called *Desāis*, and in the Karnātak, *Nādgauḍā*), *Des'kulkarṇīs* or *Nādkarṇīs*, *Mokdams*, or *Patels*, *Kulkarṇīs*, *Chauglās*, *Balutes*, *Chaudharīs*, *Hākims'arās*, *Gurhos*, and in some places *Sardes'mukhs* or *Sardesāis* or *Sar-Sammats*, *Sar-Pātīls*, *Sargurhos*, *S'ete-Mahājans*, *Mehtars*, *Godgāvdās Kotwāls*, or *Mahārs*, *Mokāsdārs*, etc. These *Vatandārs* were responsible for some administrative functions and had some powers and perquisites attached to these offices. Most of them were rural officials, but *S'ete-Mahājans*, *Hākims'arās*, *Kotwāls*, were urban officials. We must analyse their work, responsibilities and perquisites which they enjoyed.

(a) *Des'mukhs*:

As this word denotes, a *Des'mukh* was the leader of a particular portion of '*Desha*' that is, country or territory. From the very name, it is clear that he existed in this country, some centuries before the advent of the Muslims in India. The other word corresponding to it is '*Desāi*' which seems to be corrupt form of '*Des' Swānī*'.³⁷ In the Karnātak (that is, Kānadi-speaking area), the word '*Nādgauḍā*, was in vogue. A *Des'mukh* or *Desāi* or *Nādgauḍā* was an official for a *Parganā*, but in some cases, there was *Des'mukh* etc. for a smaller area as *Tar* or *Tape* or *Karyāt*, or even for a *Mahāl*.³⁸ The *Des'mukh* controlled all the ryots of the country, and, as such was an important official. Not only in Malik Ambar's time, but, even in later time *Des'mukhs* were a very important part of the Government machinery. They were usually responsible for the realisation of Government dues, namely, land-revenue, and the advancement of

agriculture, as also for peace and order in the country. A *Des'mukh* expected to be invited at all meetings of the public, official or non-official, and important Government papers had his seal (with the plough in it to show his relation with agriculture) stamped upon them. Many papers without his seal were regarded invalid. The possession of the seal, therefore, was an important honour, and, at times, quarrels and bloodsheds occurred over a dispute about its possession. At the same time, his responsibility was great. If he failed in realising government dues, he could be arrested and punished.³⁹ He had, therefore, to sell his *vatan*, partly or fully, if he failed to realise the government dues. He maintained a regular office and a number of clerks and, at times, agents in the different parts of the 'Parganā'. As he was a hereditary officer, he continued unchanged though the government servants went on changing; he continued to exist though kings came and went. At times, he served two or more kings as the *S'itole Des'mukhs* of Poonā did. Generally, the *Vatandārs* of the border territory between two kingdoms that changed hands, very often had to face this position. The *Bhonsles*, in the capacity of *Mokdams* and *Pātils*, had probably to face the same position in the territory round about the *Bhīmā* river. New *Des'mukhs* could not be created by a king except in exceptional cases. They continued to enjoy their position from generation to generation but for change effected by a regular transfer, either by sale or endowment.

What perquisites a *Des'mukh* enjoyed can be known from one of the contemporary documents. It is mentioned therein that the *Des'mukh* of *Tape Kātī* had seven field (in the village and headquarters together), some percentage of government dues, export duty, oetroi duty, ferry-duty, and fruits from three kinds of trees for the services rendered to the society.⁴⁰ The recipients of *Vatans* were assigned cesses on all trades obtaining in their territorial jurisdiction.⁴¹ They were entitled to receive presents on ceremonial occasions.⁴² They were authorised to collect a kind of succession-tax (*Niputrika*) for themselves from the owner without a son to succeed him. Besides, they could command services from cultivators for the cultivation of their fields. The *Des'mukh* could be the *Mokdam* of some villages in

'*Parganā*'. He had, thus, various sources of income, and enjoyed the first place of the honour in the society.

(b) *The Pātīl or Mokdam :*

The village was the primary administrative unit, and its own administrator was called *Pātīl* in the Hindu Period and *Mokdam* in the Muslim Period of Indian History. He was the counterpart of the *Des'mukh* of a '*Parganā*'. His functions, powers, perquisites and position in the society were similar to those of the *Des'mukh*, but limited to the village of which he was the *Pātīl* or *Mokdam*. He was to realise government dues, and for his failure, he could be arrested and punished. He was entitled to (1) the cultivation of some land in the village, (2) some cesses on the trades followed in it, (3) presents of seasonal products and on ceremonial occasions, (4) services for the cultivation of his land, and (5) a certain percentage of government dues.

The *Des'mukh* was the supervising officer of the *Pātīl* who could be chastised for failure in his duties. *Pātīlship* could be transferred by sale or mortgage or endowment just like *Des'mukhship*. Whenever *Pātīlship* fell vacant, the *Des'mukh* had to take it over;⁴³ but, at times, it could be bestowed upon another person by the king. The *Pātīl* was styled '*Khot*' in the Konkan and performed the same duties, and exercised the same power and was entitled to the same perquisites and position as the *Pātīl-Mokdam* of the Plateau.⁴⁴

(c) *The Kulkārṇī and Des'kulkārṇī :*

The *Pātīl* as well as the *Des'mukh* required some one to maintain the accounts of the Village and the *Parganā*, and to keep records of the dues to be realised from each peasant, in accordance with the fields possessed by him and the kinds of crops sown in them, the dues to be paid for the village as a whole, dues to be realised on the different trades on behalf of the Government and the *Pātīl* or the *Des'mukh*, and such other matters. The accountant of the Village was simply known as '*Kulkārṇī*' and that of the *Parganā* or smaller areas was called *Des'kulkārṇī*, or *Des'pande*, or *Nādkārṇī* (in the Karnatak). It must be remembered that '*Kul*' is a Sanskrit word, meaning

'peasant'. It is clear, therefore, that he existed from time immemorial along with *Pātīl* and *Des'mukh*, and was always closely associated with him; co-operation among these persons was quite necessary for the efficient discharge of their duties. As work required the incumbent to be a literate man, he was generally a *Brāhmān* or a *Prabhu* (*Kāyastha*) by caste. The *Brāhmān Kulkarnī* did one more work, namely, that of an astrologer (*Jyotis'ī* for the village or a group of villages in his charge). It may, however, be noted that this additional duty was not a necessary accompaniment in every case. There were several *Kulkarnīs* who did not necessarily do the work of a *Jyotis'ī*, and vice versa.

The *Kulkarnī* like the *Pātīl-Mokdam* and *Des'mukh* enjoyed certain privileges and sources of income. Just like them he was in possession of some rent-free land. *Secondly*, he got a certain amount of remuneration. *Thirdly*, he also had his share in the cesses realised in the village and enjoyed some presents. The *Des'kulkarnī* enjoyed similar privileges in each village, the sum-total making a good income.⁴⁶

The *Kulkarnī-ship* was a hereditary position, but, like all other *Vatans*, it could be acquired by purchase or mortgage or endowment. At times, whenever an office fell vacant and there was no claimant, Government could bestow it upon a deserving person. He could also be punished for failure in his duties, especially, in that of realisation of Government dues. He also enjoyed the privilege of taking part in the decision of local disputes, his position being considered to be next in importance to that of the *Pātīl* or *Des'mukh* in accordance with his being a *Kulkarnī* or *Des'kulkarnī*. A *Kulkarnī* or *Des'kulkarnī* could employ agents for the performance of his duties.

(d) *The Chauglā*;

There were some more *Vatandārs*, of whom *Chauglā* was one. His functions are not indicated in the contemporary documents of Malik Ambar. It seems one of his important duties was to deposit the Government dues safely in the Government Treasury. He performed many social duties in the village. He had also a seal with the plough and dagger in it. The plough

indicated his relation with agriculture and the dagger indicated that he was responsible for the protection, especially, of the *Pātīl-Mokdam* of the village. He also enjoyed certain perquisites, especially rent-free land.

At time, at some places the *Mokdam* combined the duties of the *Chauglā*.⁴⁰

(e) *The Vatandār Mahār* :

There was, in addition, a *Vatandār Mahār* in the village. He was untouchable by caste and performed the duty of the watchman and was the bodyguard of the *Pātīl*. He also enjoyed certain perquisites, chiefly some rent-free land. The use of dead animals was his special privilege.

IV. *Balutes and Alutes* :

Besides the above-mentioned *Vatandārs*, there were *Balutes* and *Alutes* in a village. The *Balutes* were mostly artisans whose services were quite necessary in the economic life of the village. Their services were essential for the happiness and comforts of the rural life. The *Balutes* were paid in kind invariably, while the *Alutes* were paid for the service whenever demanded and rendered. The names of the *Balutes* and *Alutes* have not been mentioned in any of the extant documents of Malik Ambar's time. The *Balutes* were usually the following :

- (1) Washerman
- (2) Barber
- (3) Gurav
- (4) Carpenter
- (5) Shoemaker or Cobbler
- (6) Potter
- (7) Blacksmith
- (8) Mahār
- (9) Astrologer
- (10) Māng
- (11) Maulānā
- (12) Thākur

The *Alutes* seem to have been the following:

- (1) Rāmos'ī
- (2) Bhat
- (3) Koli
- (4) Goldsmith
- (5) Tarāl

The functions of the *Balutes* were indispensable and hence they were an essential feature of the village economy, while those of the *Alutes* were of an optional nature and, therefore, their services were paid whenever they were demanded by anyone. Maulānā seems to have been added during the Muslim regime, but the rest of them obtained from time immemorial. The *Balutes* came to acquire social titles as noted below:

| | | |
|----------------------|---|--------------|
| (1) Bhat | — | Pandit Rāo |
| (2) Carpenter | — | Bāna Rāo. |
| (3) Blacksmith | — | Añī Rāo. |
| (4) Washerman | — | Sringār Rāo. |
| (5) Koli (Fisherman) | — | Patanga Rāo. |
| (6) Shoe-maker | — | Takat Rāo. |
| (7) Barber | — | Swarūp Rāo. |
| (8) Mahār | — | Imān Rāo. |
| (9) Mang | — | Raut Rāo. |
| (10) Goldsmith | — | Pasant Rāo. |
| (11) Potter | — | Chakra Rāo. |

In Malik Ambar's history, there is a reference to 'Patang Rāo' in connection with "Vyankat Rāo Koli."

V, The Vatandars of Towns :

Towns, specially, the market-centres, had their own *Vatandārs*. Their names were *S'etes*, *Māhājans*, *Chaudharis*, *Bidwais*, etc. Probably, there were some whose names and functions are not referred to in the contemporary documents. Market-towns in general came into existence at either crossroads, that is, nodal centres or at forts or by the side of hill-forts or ground-forts. Usually, the persons responsible for starting a marketing centres were entrusted with the control of the market, and were

accorded certain rights of levying various cesses and taxes and had some privileges, honours, and presents.

The word *S'ete* is the corrupt form of *S'reshṭin*. A student of the early ancient history of India knows that '*S'reshṭins*' used to organise trade and manufacturing guilds, associations and corporations and were very influential and powerful persons in the society. *S'etes* inherited most of the old functions, power and social position. They were to organise and advance trade and manufacture, help government officials in the maintenance of peace and order and realise Government dues. The administration of the market was in their hands. Their privileges included realisation of cesses in cash or kind from the different trades, exemption from forced labour and house-cess, honours on ceremonial occasions, labour for a number of days from the artisans, presents on ceremonial occasions, fines for some offences, some succession-tax, etc. Like all other *Vatandārs*, some privileges could be bestowed by the Government. A '*S'ete*' could enjoy the right to arrest and punish an offender, and sometimes, he could award capital punishment. His was a position of honour. The umbrella was to be carried over his head and the torch was to be carried in front to show him the way. He, of course, sat in judicial and public assemblies of the town.

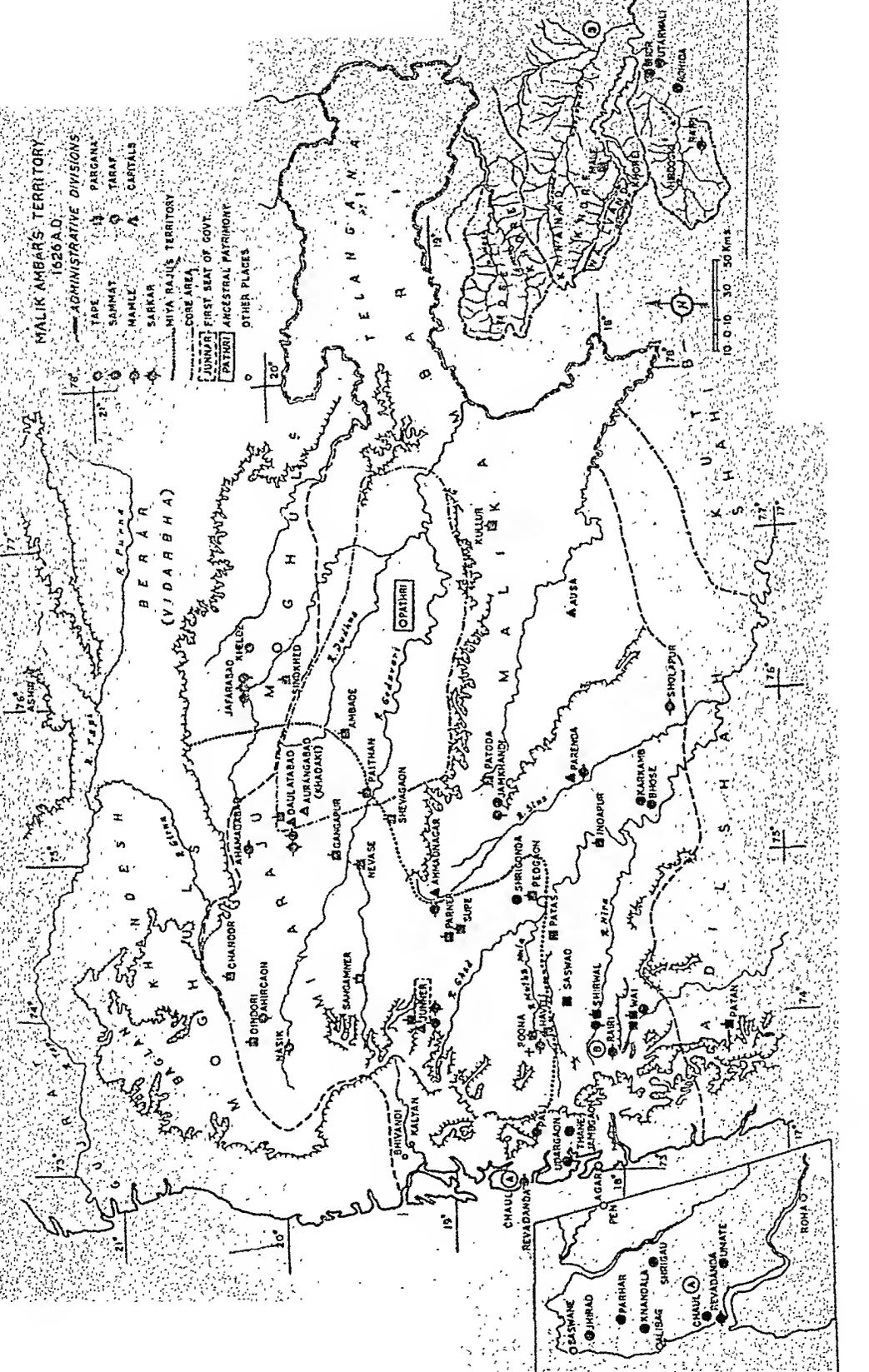
The *Mahājan* was to the *S'ete*, what the *Kulkarṇī* was to the *Pāṭil* and the *Des'kulkarṇī* to the *Des'mukh*. He was mainly in charge of the accounts of the market, and acted as *S'ete*'s assistant. His perquisites were very much similar to those of the *S'etes*, but of a lower value. Just like the *Chauglā* of the village, there was the *Chaudharī* of the marketplace. In some places, there was a *Bidwai* to look after the arrangement of the market. A large portion of the market cesses must have gone into the Government coffers and formed a lucrative source of income to the Government. Therefore, Government generally encouraged the establishment of markets at suitable places.

Some Fundamental Features of Vatandarī System.

(i) It has been shown that the *Vatandārs* generally acquired their position, rights and privileges by inheritance, but at times by transfer, sale, mortgage or free endowment. They, therefore,

**MALIK AMBAR'S TERRITORY
1656 A.D.**

- ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS**
- TADE
 - SAMMAT
 - NAMLE
 - SAREKAR
 - PARGANA
 - TANAF
 - CARTALS
- MIVA RAJES TERRITORY**
- CORE AREA
 - FIRST SEAT OF GOVT.
 - ANCESTRAL PATRIOTRY
 - OTHER PLACES



formed a permanent feature of the Governmental machinery, and, in a way, performed some very useful functions.

(ii) As a consequence, they continued, even, if kings and dynasties changed. Sometimes, one and the same *Vatandār* served two kings or even more during his own life-time. His office provided all information about the places in his jurisdiction.

(iii) Whenever anyone acquired a *Vatandārship*, he had to pay to the government a recognition tax, known as *S'ernī*.

Malik Ambar's Control over Vatandārs:

Vatandārs were not allowed a free hand over the people. On the other hand, there is ample evidence to show that Malik Ambar curbed them and tried to bring them to the right path whenever they deviated from their duty. The relevant documents have been cited which bear convincing evidence of his vigilant and strict control over the *Vatandārs*.

APPENDIX A; Administrative Divisions.

As no chronicle of Malik Ambar's history and administration is available, it cannot be said definitely how many administrative divisions were in the Nizāms'āhī Kingdom. Moreover, the boundaries of the Kingdom fluctuated from time to time. Below, the names of divisions have been compiled on the basis of the official and non-official documents of the time available now. It needs hardly be said that the lists are by no means complete.

(a) Parganās:

- (1) Pāndependgāon. (S.L. 10; M.I.S.-XV, Art. 373, 388, 389, 394 and 396).
- (2) Havelī. (S.L. 10)
- (3) Karhād (*Ibid.*, 14; M.I.S.-XV, Art. 65).
- (4) Poonā. (S.L. 15; S.C.S.-IV, Art. 675, M.I.S. XVIII, 2; M.I.S.-XX, Art. 225 and 226).
- (5) S'irwal. (S.C.S.-I, 7, 14, 16 and 17).
- (6) Nyāmatabād. (P.D., XXXI, Doc. Nos. 2 and 4).

- (7) Indāpur. (*S.C.S.-III*, Art. 655 and 719).
- (8) Newāse (*S.C.S.-IV*, Art. 702).
- (9) Dindorī. (*Ibid.*, Art. 716).
- (10) Sangammer. (*S.C.S.-III*, Art. 467 and 469; *M.I.S.-XX*, Art. 254).
- (11) Ghāt Deulgāon. (*P.D.* XXXI, 7).
- (12) Yedalābād. (*S.C.S.-IV*, Art. 731).
- (13) Wāi. (*M.I.S.-XX*, Art. 65, 67 and 68; *M.I.S.* XV, Art. 380)
- (14) Kannarad. (*M.I.S.-XV*, Art. 370).
- (15) Supā. (*Q.B.I.S.M.*, II, 57 and 58).
- (16) Yelūr. (*M.I.S.-XV*, Art. 385).
- (17) Deulgāon. (*P.D.* XXXI, 7).
- (18) Khedle. (*B.I.S.M- Ittivatra* IV, 49).
- (19) Derhādī. (*S.C.S.-III*, 134).
- (20) Gāndāpur. (*M.I.S.-XX*, Art. 371).
- (21) Ahmadābād *alias* Gaudgāon. (*Ibid*)
- (22) Māṇ-Dahīgāon. (*M.I.S.-XV*, Art. 217).

(b) *Sarkār*:

- (1) Junnar. (*S.L.* 13; *P.D.-XXXI*, 6).
- (2) Daulatābād (*M.I.S.-XV*, 385).

(c) *Māmle*:

- (1) Jāfarābād. (*S.L.* 14; *M.I.S.-XX*, 386).
- (2) Sholāpur.* (*S.L.* 16).
- (3) Āmīnābād *alias* Pālī, (*S.C.S.-III*, Art. 20, 416).
- (4) Murtazābād (*alias* Ghaul) (*S.C.S.-IV*, Art. 710, *S.C.S.*, IX, 1-54, 57, 59-70, 72-75, 77-98, 100).
- (5) Guls'anābād (*alias* Nās'ik) (*S.C.S.-IV* Art. 706; *S.C.S.-II*, Art. 287, 289).
- (6) Rāirī. (*P.D.-XXXI*, 8; *M.I.S.-XVI*, Art. 7, 8 and 12).
- (7) Ahmadābād.* (*M.I.S.-XV*, Art 368, 369).
- (8) Parendā. (*M.I.S.-XX*, Art. 217).
- (9) Bārāmāwal. (*M.I.S.-XVI*, 11, 12).

*These obtain in the list of *Parganās* too. Evidently, in these cases, it appears that a *Paaganā* is equivalent to a 'Māmle'.

(d) *Sammat*:

- (1) Jāfarābād.** (*M.I.S.*-XV, 368).
- (2) Daulatābād@ (*M.I.S.*-XV, 369-370).
- (3) Junnar. @ (Proceedings of the Sixth Conference of B.I. S.M., Poona, *M.I.S.*-XV, 431).

**The name also occurs in the list of 'Sarkārs'. Therefore, in this case, a 'Sarkār' is equivalent to a 'Sammat'.

@ These names obtain in the list of 'Sarkārs'. So, in this case, a 'Sarkār' is equal to a 'Sammat'.

(e) *Tarfs*:

- (1) Ahirgaon. (*S.L.*, 17).
- (2) Bhor. (*S.C.S.*-II, 205).
- (3) Utarwali. (*S.C.S.*-V, Art. 760).
- (4) Rohidkhore. (*S.C.S.*-III, 180; *M.I.S.*-XV, 271-356).
- (5) Khedebāre. (*P.D.*-XXXI, 3).
- (6) Jāmkhed. (*S.C.S.*-III, 204-207).
- (7) Nirthadi. (*S.C.S.*-II, 118-119).
- (8) Kānadkhore. (*M.I.S.*-XVI, Art. 5, 9, 13, 14, 15, 16 & 17).
- (9) Karade. (Karadai/Kardi) (*M.I.S.*-XV, 422-426).

(f) *Tape*:

- (1) Undargāon. (*S.L.* 10).
- (2) Bhos. (*Ibid.*).
- (3) Kārkamb. (*Ibid.*, 11).
- (4) Hirdasmāwal. (*S.C.S.*-I, 12; *S.C.S.*-II, 229).
- (5) Rohidā. (*S.C.S.*-II, 180-182).
- (6) Welwandkhore. (*S.C.S.*-I, 47).
- (7) Bhor.* (*S.C.S.*-II, 229; *M.I.S.*-XV, 330).
- (8) Māsekhore. (*S.C.S.*-I, 19).
- (9) Jāmkhed* (*S.C.S.*-IV., Art. 622).
- (10) Kānadkhore* (*P.D.*-XXXI, 8; *M.I.S.*-XVI, 6, 7 and 8; *S.C.S.*-IV, Art. 747, 748, 479).
- (11) Sondal. (*S.C.S.*-IV, Art. 680).
- (12) Gujanmāwal. (*S.C.S.*-I, 88).

*these names occur in the list of *Tarfs* also; thus, it follows that 'Tape' is a corrupt form of *Tarf*.

(g) *Karyat* :

- (1) Sāsivad. (*S.S.C.*, I, 8 and 11).
- (2) Mālewādī. (*M.I.S.*-XV, 408)
- (3) Pātas. (*M.I.S.*-XV, 432).

APPENDIX B

An Account of Haibatkhān,

Haibatkhān was one of the ministers of the Nizāms'āhī State and an important colleague of Malik Ambar. What portfolio was entrusted to him, it is difficult to say. Probably, he was in charge of the finances of the State and looked after the arrangement of revenue and its assessment. It seems that he carried out the assessment of land-revenue in accordance with the ideals and aims of Malik Ambar. He appears to have been a *Brāhmaṇ* by name Vittal Jagdeo.⁴⁷ Padam Bhatta, son of S'ankar Bhatta, has been called the Priest of Haibatkhān.⁴⁸ (Upādhe Haibatkhān).

This indicates that Haibatkhān, though a Muslim, had a *Brāhmaṇ* priest to perform Hindu religious ceremonies for him. This Padam Bhatta has been referred to as the Priest of renegade (Harāmchorāchā).⁴⁹ He was, probably, the elder brother of the well-known Murār Jagdeo, the first Prime Minister of Muhammad Ādils'āh and should have belonged to the Ādils'āhī Kingdom by birth.⁵⁰ He was an officer of the rank of a *Sardār* (*Vazier*) and administered the territory of Wāi for 23 years and 2 months (21½ years during the regime of Ibrāhim Ādils'āh and 2¼ years during the regime of Muhammad Ādils'āh). In addition to Wāi, he appears to have been in charge of the *Parganā* of S'irwal from 1604 A.D. to 1621 A.D.⁵¹ Similarly, he also held the charge of Poonā as one petitioner had to go to Wāi to see Haibatkhān concerning an application addressed to the *Kār-koons* and *Des'mukhs* of Poonā.⁵²

It may be noted that Wāi, S'irwal and Poonā belonged to the Nizāms'āhī state but were placed under the protection of the Ādils'āh. In the beginning of the assumption of power and con-

solidation of the Nizāms'āhī Kingdom by Malik Ambar, policy dictated that the Ādils'āh was to be kept friendly and helpful to him, and, therefore, Malik Ambar, either on account of choice or on account of having been pressed by the Ādils'āh, more or less temporarily handed over Wāi, S'irwal, Poonā, etc., to the Ādils'āh. The Ādils'āh kept his officers in charge of these areas or made the Nizāms'āhī officers responsible to himself, the revenues of Wāi being probably paid to the Ādils'āh and those of the Shirwal and Poonā to the Nizāms'āh. In fact, Wāi for all intents and purposes belonged to the Ādils'āh. Haibatkhān made Wāi his headquarters for sufficiently long period.⁵² However, Poonā continued to be under the sway of the Nizāms'āh.⁵³ It must have been under his sway from the very beginning of Malik Ambar's regime. It may safely be inferred that S'irwal, an intermediate *Parganā* should also have continued to be in charge of the Nizāms'āh. Malik Ambar, a sworn enemy of Miya Rājū, seems to have taken possession of the *Parganā* of Poonā in 1603 A.D. from the latter.⁵⁴ Haibatkhān kept his agent at Wāi (named Atā Malik) styled as Nāib Gaibat.⁵⁵ The position and power acquired by Haibatkhān in 1605 and 1606 A.D. did not last long. He seems to have been replaced by Yāqūt Khān (another colleague of Malik Ambar and the commander-in-Chief of the Nizāms'āhī army) and by Rājes Muhammad. One of the documents states that Haibatkhān was in charge of S'irwal from 1604 to 1621 A.D., but this does not appear to be the true state of affairs. All these years, he was in charge of Wāi, but kept his agent there. About 1613 A.D., and three years thereafter, his son, also styled as Ādils'āhī Haibatkhān, was in charge.⁵⁶ Vangoji Nimbalkar, the *Mansabdār* of S'irwal took to *Polygarship* in the territory of Wāi which was almost Ādils'āhī at the time. Probably, he had secret instructions from Malik Ambar, without which he could not dare to carry on his depredations. Vangoji was attacked in 1609 A.D.,⁵⁷ and S'irwal was taken possession of by the Ādils'āh⁵⁸ and retained by him, till 1617 A.D., with Haibatkhān (younger?) as its officer. In the same year, it was restored to the Nizāms'āhī by a treaty and Kāzī Husain was deputed to take charge of it from the Ādils'āhī possession. During these years, he continued to be in charge of the *Parganā* of Poonā.⁵⁹ After this, it seems that Haibatkhān, probably younger, was in charge of Wāi and some adjacent

areas of the Nizāms'āhī State handed back a little later.⁶⁰ Yāqūt Khān, and at times, Malik Ambar himself, seems to have held charge of S'irwal, Poonā, Supā, etc.⁶¹ In 1618 A.D., it was complained to Junjar Rāo Maral of *Tape Kānadkhore* that Ādils'āhī subjects made incursions from time to time into the borders of Wāi and Phaltan and disturbed the peace of the territory in S'irwal and adjoining arca. Vithoji S'itole, *Des'mukh* of Poonā, was therefore deputed on an expedition against them., Kanhoji Junjar Rāo, *Des'mukh* of Kānadkhore *Māmle Rāirī*, is informed by Patang Rāo that Ādils'āhī Haibatkhān led expeditions in the territory and looted it and took its possession. Evidently, Haibatkhān (younger?) continued to be the officer of Wāi (Probably of Phaltan too) and led expeditions into the adjacent Sahyādri portion and tried to take possession of it. The elder Haibatkhān should have, however, continued in the service of the Nizāms'āhī. For these depredations, Ādils'āh can certainly be held responsible (and it is likely that he might have done this at the instigation of the Moghul Emperor). Hereafter, began a long warfare between the Ādils'āh and Nizāms'āh, and the former seems to have been gradually successful for some time.⁶² Haibatkhān (Probably younger) was the officer of Wāi.⁶³ He was in charge of these *Parganās* in 1623, but he was at the time a Nizāms'āhī officer. S'āhji had been given *Mokāsās* in Poonā, S'irwal, Supā-Bārāmatī and Indāpur⁶⁴ and deputed by Malik Ambar to conquer back all the territory—which task he seems to have performed successfully. Hereafter, we do not get any account of Haibatkhān.

APPENDIX C

An Account of Yāqūt-Khān.

Yāqūt-Khān was the Commander-in-Chief of the Nizāms'āhī State and was a trusted Lieutenant of Malik Ambar.⁶⁵ The earliest reference of Yāqūt-Khān dated back to 1606 A.D., as an administrator of Wāi after Haibatkhān's regime at that place. Wai was Nizāms'āhī in the beginning of the 17th Century. In the next reference, Yāqūt-Khān is referred to as Ādils'āhī officer of the *Parganā* of Supā in 1607 A.D.⁶⁶ Another reference

mentions him to be Adils'ahī officer in March, 1616 in connection with the *Parganā* of Wāi.⁶⁷ This is so most probably because Wāi had almost become Adils'ahī and the *Havaldārs* thereof were in charge of the adjacent *Parganās*. In June, 1621, he has been referred to as the late *Thānedār* of Poonā, just preceding Rāyā Rāo. There was probably one Adils'ahī Yāqūt-Khān but it is doubtful whether he was so important at that time. The Nizāms'ahī Yāqūt-Khān was in charge of Wāi in the beginning of the 17th century, after the land-revenue settlement of the year 1617, he seems to have been in charge of the *Parganā* of Supā.⁶⁸

References and notes

1. The second King, Muhammad, in the line of the Bahamanī kings systematized the central administration by dividing the work into departments and placing one or more departments under a minister. Thus, therefore, came to be eight ministers, namely, (1) *Vakil-i-Sultānāt* (Regent) (2) *Vazier-i-Kul* (the Chief Minister), (3) *Amir Junlā* (Finance Minister), (4) *Vazier-i-Ashrāf* (Minister of Foreign Affairs), (5) *Nāzir* (Minister in charge of Stores.), (6) *Pes'awā* (Counterpart of a modern Private Secretary), (7). *Kotwal* (Head Officer of the Capital) and (8) *Sardār-i-Jahān* (Chief Justice). This arrangement, obtaining in the 14th century, underwent modifications and alterations in the course of time. It did not prevail in the 17th century. Malik Ambar has been called '*Pes'awā*' (T.J.-I, 220.)
2. In the beginning, Malik Ambar's position, in spite of his strong and autocratic administration, was rather shaky and the other ministers very often resented his autocracy and domination, The *F.A.* mentions clearly that the Nizāms'ahī Lords not only considered themselves equal but superior to Malik Ambar, and were ever ready to set him aside. They took interest in opposing him rather than in co-operating with him. Once they represented to the King that the Chief Minister was to be selected by the army and that Malik Ambar was to render service as they had to do. This attitude of other ministers and nobles continued to the end of Malik Ambar's career. One of his lieutenants, Mansūr-Khān, went over to the Moghuls. (*E.F.I-I*, 210, dated the 25th Nov. 1620 A.D., and 267, dated the 8th September, 1621). This very event occurred on the eve of the Battle of Bhatwadī. But it must be noted the resentment might be due to the envy, jealousy and ambitions of those who resented his autocratic behaviour. The contemporary people, especially, his colleagues and ambitious subordinates seldom realised and appreciated the worth of an autocrat of Malik Ambar's standing and ability and still less realised the necessity of such a person during the reign of a weak king. They looked to their self-aggrandisement and none, at all, to the national or royal interests

Hence, the autocratic behaviour of a strong minister was misunderstood and resented.

3. S.C.S.-I, 23, dated Jan; 1621 A.D.
4. *Q.B.I.S.M.* XXIII-2, 63-4.
5. *Ibid.*, XI-1, 8. Van Ravesteyn's travel account. (*M.A.D.S.*)
6. *E.F.I.-I*, 231, dated the 6th Feb., 1621 A.D. Siddi Yaqut Khan Habshī was the most trusted man of Malik Ambar. (*S.L.*, 70).
7. Haibatkhan, the elder, seems to have been one of the ministers and a close colleague of Malik Ambar. Before his name high appellations as 'Alī-S'an' (Most Excellent) *S.C.S.-I*, 10 'Malik Āzam' (the Highest Servant of the King) (*S.C.S.-I*, 8) and 'Khane Azam Alī-S'an Raft Abakadar Vakimkan' (the Highest amongst the nobles, Most Exalted and Trusted of the King) (*S.C.S.-I*, 7) are mentioned. He appears to the Head Diwan. (*S.C.S.-I*, 92 and *S.C.S.-VII*, 67.). But he seems to have left the Nizams'ahī Kingdom and gone over to the Ādils'ahī Kingdom in 1622 A.D. or thereabout. His son, also styled himself as Haibatkhan, was already in the Ādils'ahī service (*S.C.S.-I*, 20, 22, 28, 33 and 35, *M.I.S.-XX*, 36." "*P.D.-XXHI*, 8, dated the 5th July, 1618, A.D."
8. *F.A.* (Sarkar's translation), Folio 27 ob.
9. Vol. II, 146-7.
10. *F.A.* (Sarkar's translation), Folio 273a.
11. *B.F.-III*, 211-2.
12. *S.C.S.-I*, 23
13. *S.L.*, Art. 7, 13.
14. *Ibid.*, Art. 11, dated the 22nd July, 1607.
15. The Sixth Annual Proceedings of *B.I.S.M.*, 95.
16. *S.L.*, Art. 4, dated the 7th May, 1604.
17. 'Tape' appears to be a corrupt form of 'Tarf'.
18. *S.C.S.-II*, 28.
19. *Ibid.*, I-19 and 31.
20. *M.I.S.-XVI*, Art. 11. dated the 7th May, 1624. A.D.
21. *S.L.* Art. 4, dated the 27th May, 1604 A.D.
22. *S.C.S.-II*, Art. 323.
23. V.A. Ambardekar: *Sources of History of Tal-Kolan* (in Ādyagony Brahman) Doc. 86, dated 1626 A.D. (cited as *P.S.S.* 240)
24. *M.I.S.-XV*, Art. 6 and 24.
25. *S.C.S.-I* Art 13 and 16.
26. *Ibid.*, II, Art. 200, dated the 5th September., 1624.
27. This meaning is clear from *M.I.S.-XV*, Art. 400, dated the 7th October, 1618, *Mokāsa's Huddedār*; *S.L.*; Art. 45, 62, dated the 18th Mareh, 1623; *M.I.S.* XV, 396, dt. Mareh 1623 A.D.
28. *S.L.*, Art. 4, dated the 27th May, 1604 A.D.; *S.C.S.-I*, 12.
29. *S.C.S.-II*, Art. 179, dated the 11th December, 1589 A.D.; The Sixth Annual Conference Proceedings of *B.I.S.M.*, 88, dated 1596 A.D.
30. *S.C.S.-I*, 12; *S.L.*, Art 4.

31. S.C.S.-II, 200, dated the 5th September, 1624.
32. S.L., Pt. II, Art. 11, 17.
33. S.C.S.-II, Art. 199, dated the 15th August, 1624; also 200, dated the 5th September, 1624.
34. *Ibid.*
35. S.C.S.-III, Art. 470 dated the 23rd May, 1618, also Art. 471.
36. S.C.S.-III, Art. 470, dated the 23rd May, 1618 A.D.
37. Cf. Gosāi with it.
38. S.L., 43; S.C.S.-II, Art. 154, 239. etc.
39. Sixth Monthly Proceedings of B.I.S.M. for *Shaka*, 1834 (1912 A.D.), 140.
40. S.C.S.-VII, 12-14.
41. S.C.P., Doc. No. 73.
42. S.C.S.-VII, 28.
43. S.C.S.-III, Art. 611.
44. *Ibid.*, -IX, Arts. 19 and 21.
45. S.C.S.-VII, 10; S.C.S.-VIII, 1.
46. M.I.S.-XV, Art. 381, dated the 11th Feb., 1616 A.D.
47. S.C.S., VI, 65.
48. *Ibid.*, 170.
49. *Ibid.*, 85.
50. *Ibid.*, 85.
51. S.C.S.-VII, 3.
52. *Ibid.*
53. S.C.S.-IV, Art. 675.
54. Q.B.I.S.M.-I-2, 35.
55. Incorrectly read by V.K. Rājwāde in this document, namely, M.I.S.-XX, Art. 226 and by others in other documents.
56. S.C.S.-I, Arts. 7 and 13, 20, 22, 28-29 and 35-36.
57. *Ibid.*; Arts. 9, 12 and 14.
58. *Ibid.* Arts. 7, 8, 9, 11 and 13.
59. M.I.S.-XVI, Art. 7, dated the 5th July, 1618.
60. S.C.S.-I, Arts. 13 and 24; Q.B.I.S.M.-II, 58.
61. S.C.S.-I, 19, 29, 34, 35 and 36 for S'irwal; *Ibid.* and S.L., 38-43 for Poonā, and Supā.
62. M.I.S.-XX, Art. 68, dated the 1st Sept., 1622 A.D.
63. S.C.S.-I, 83.
64. E.F.I., I, 231, dated the 8th Feb., 1621.
65. Phārsī Sāhitya, I, Art. 72, dated 1623-4 A.D.
66. M.I.S.-XX, Art. 171.
67. S.C.S., 65.
68. S.C.S.-II, Art. 114.

Judicial Administration

I. Introduction

The administration of justice has always been thought to be the best test of the impartial and benevolent administration of a state. It should be efficient, impartial, cheap and quickest possible. We must, therefore, know how Malik Ambar arranged to discharge this duty of his.

Malik Ambar was well-known for his justice as for his charities¹. This does not imply that Malik Ambar organized any such regular department of justice, as obtains in a modern state. The organization for the administration of justice was what had been obtaining at that time in any other state in the Deccan and what obtained during the time of S'ivājī. What the guiding hand of an administration was expected to do at that time was to refrain from oppression and to observe strict impartiality and season it with mercy wherever needful and feasible. Malik Ambar's administration of justice had all these features. In the other Muslim states, the Muslims were treated as superior to the Hindus, when the question came to be between a Muslim and a Hindu. Malik Ambar's administration did not seem to suffer from this defect. To the existing machinery, a *Kāzī*, a representative of the Muslim king, had already come to be added; and when the case was one between one Muslim and another, he alone did the work. *Malik Ambar's credit lies in the fact that he did not interfere with the course of justice, and executed it, whenever there arose the need for the Government machinery for this purpose with strict impartiality.*

The old method of justice in this land has been well summarised by *Yājñavalkya* in the following verses of his well-known code (*Smṛti*) on the law of this land :

प्रमाणं लिखितं मुक्तिः सासिणश्चेति कीर्तितम् ।

एषामन्यतमाभावे दिव्यान्यतममुच्यते ॥ अध्याय २, भाग २ ॥

“Documents, prescription and witnesses are evidences. In the absence of these evidences, reliance may be placed on divine evidence (*i. e.* lot and ordeal)”. The above verse embodies the principle of a well-known Marāthī proverb :

“दिवस असतां दिवा नाही, गोही असता रवा नाही”

(just as in the broad day light, there is no necessity of a lamp, so, when there is evidence (literally, witnesses) there is no need of an ordeal. Laymen of those times were familiar with the general legal maxims and made their use on suitable occasions. Whenever a case was decided by a *Sabhā*, it was the practice to reduce its decision to a written agreement. This type of decision was called *Mahjār*. The document in which the detailed decision of a court was recorded was styled as *Nivādapatra* (deed of decision or judgment). As regards Law, it has to be remembered that but for some executive orders, the king never made law in this land—it had, therefore, to be known partly from the recognised codes and partly from custom. The recognised codes had their recognised commentaries too. At that time, *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* with *Vijnāneswara's* *Mitāk'sara* commentary on it was in vogue in the Deccan; but, very generally, local customs were the general law. As regards the courts, we have to note that most of the cases were decided by the *Gotsabhā* (a body of Kinsmen), some by the *Des'aksabhā* (a body of the *Des'aks, i. e., Vatandārs*), some few by the *Brāhaman-Sabhā*, and occasionally by the King and his officers singly or jointly (*Rāj-Sabhā*). The procedure can be best known from some concrete cases.

II. *Gotsabhā*

Gotsabhā in the literal sense was a body of kinsmen. As the

persons in the locality were expected to be conversant with a case, they were best calculated to give a right decision on issues connected with it. Such a decision was likely to give strict justice in the matter, which was, therefore, not likely to be miscarried. It was a very cheap and quick process. Moreover, this justice was likely to be seasoned with mercy, if there was a need for it. Unhappily, we have only a few documents of Malik Ambar's time, available to us for our study, and cases decided purely by the *Gotsabhās* are extremely few. Generally, the *Gotsabhā* comprised of a number of local leading persons, one or more officers and a varying number of *Des'aks* (i. e. *vatandārs* *Deśmukh*, *Deśkulkarṇī*, *Pātīl*, *Kulkarṇī*, *Mokadam*, *Chaugulās*, *Chandharīs*, *Balutes*, etc).

The *Gotsabhās* were, therefore, something like the *Panchāyats* of the modern days of India. There was no hard and fast rule regarding the type or number of members comprising it. The evidence of a former judgment for deciding a case brought before king Śāhū in 1748 at Sātārā is examined in the sequel.² The question was regarding the right of an Astrologer's work and *Kulkarṇī's* work of the village, Chimangāon. The plaintiff was Krishṇājī Raghunāth Diwākar of the *Gautam Gotra*, *Mādhyandinī Brāhmin*, *Vājasaneyā sūtra*. The plaintiff had cited the former decision in evidence. Formerly, the case had been brought before Ambarkhān at Daulatābād by two brothers, Deojī Laxmaṇ and Chinto Laxmaṇ Kulkarṇī and Jyotiṣī of village Chimangāon (*Sanmat Koregāon*, *Parganā Wāī*). The Plaintiff's complaint was that, while they enjoyed the privileges of the aforesaid jobs, one Rāmājī Nāganāth Sonwade of Umrāṇī, *Rgvedī*, raised troubles in their way by claiming the aforesaid privileges. When the two brothers, therefore, were proceeding to appear before the Senior *Khānsāhib* when he was encamped at Māyṇī, Rāmājī Nāganāth requested them not to complain to the *Diwāṇ* (i. e., the Senior *Khānsāhib*) and he was ready to abide by the decision of the *Twelve Balutās*. He, accordingly, executed a deed to that effect with the due attestation of witnesses to his signature. But, when the *Balutās* gave the decision in their favour, he refused to abide by the decision and claimed that his case be sent elsewhere for decision. The people of this place decided to judge the case by an 'ordeal' of taking out a ball

from boiling ghee or oil. The plaintiffs abided by the order, won the case by going through the ordeal successfully, and got a decree in their favour. The *Hazraisāhib* (the king?) was at Indāpur. There, the *Huddedār* (the local officer), *Mokadam* and *Kamina* (*Āmina*) placed the decree (*Mahjar*) before him. The *Sāhib* was pleased to give an order in their favour and conferred upon them the rights. While they enjoyed the rights, Rāmāji Nāganāth, having got his own case advocated, brought a note awarding him the aforesaid privileges. At this, the plaintiffs appeared before the (Khān) *Sāhib*, while he was at Khadākī, and won the case, again, by means of an ordeal. Therefore, the award was, again, in their favour, and Rāmāji was enjoined to abide by it. He, therefore, left the village. But, he, again raised troubles and brought a note to Malik Farīd *Havaldār* to the effect that the case be decided afresh. At this Malik Farīd *Havaldār* assembled the *Huddedār*, *Mokadam* and others in his presence for deciding the case. Again, it was decided that Rāmāji had no claims to the work of the *Kulkarnī* and *Jyotiṣī* of the said village. While the *Mahjar* was to be prepared, it came to be known that the said village had been awarded as *Mokāsā* to Marjā (Mīrzā?). The *Havaldār*, therefore, gave leave to the people assembled. The said Marjā (Mīrzā?) came to Pusegāon. Rāmāji Nāganāth went and broached the old case to him and showed his own papers to him. He sent for the *Kamina*. This seems to be a misreading for *Āmina*. At this, the plaintiff also went to the Marjā (Mīrzā) and showed own papers to him who then pointed out to Rāmāji Nāganāth that he (the plaintiff) had won the case by undergoing an ordeal and, therefore, it was not proper on his part to raise troubles afresh in the matter. At this, Rāmāji Naganāth said that the plaintiff had won the case by performing a trick in the ordeal and he himself was ready to perform an ordeal and that he was ready to go for that to another place, if the *S'ernī* (court fee for the rights) was settled. He thereupon got a note to that effect. The plaintiff accepted the challenge. Then they went to the Marjā (Mīrzā?) and secured an order from him for the performance of an ordeal before the officials. All the leaders of the body (assembled for the purpose) said that the privilege did not belong to Rāmāji Nāganāth but belonged to Deoji and Chintoji according to the information that they had from their

own elders. He (Rāmājī Nāganāth) would not listen to what the people assembled said. At last, these people took down their statements and washed the left hand of Godo Nāganāth, brother of Rāmājī Nāganāth and cut his nails. Then, they put on bags on it and boiled oil and butter at the door of the temple of *Kāles'war* of the village, Ner of *Khatāva Parganā*. After the passage of the fifth *Ghatika* of Sunday, the 10th day of Dark fortnight of *Kārtik* of *Śhake* 1540, *Kālyukta Samvatsar*, the plaintiff afforded the shade and he took the ball out (of the boiled oil and butter) and showed it to the people. The bag was taken off the hand on the 24th *Jilkād*. The central finger had a burn. So, he had failed in the ordeal and his hand was shown to the Marjā at Māyānī. He was declared to have lost the case and the plaintiffs were awarded the privileges of *Kulkarṇī Jyotiṣī* of the village.²

This is followed by a further account of the trouble created, as before, by Rāmājī Nāganāth who ultimately lost the case at that time also and the plaintiffs won it, as on a detailed enquiry and inspection of the *Mahjars* with them, it became clear that the privileges in question belonged to them.

From the above account, certain facts of a general nature emerge: (1) Before a case could be taken up by any body it was necessary to take an undertaking from both the parties that the decision given by the body approached would be abided by them, (2) *Secondly*, in case any of the two parties suspected that he would not get proper justice at the local place or at an appointed place on account of prejudice etc. prevailing there against him, he could ask for a transference of his case to another place, (3) *Thirdly*, after a case was decided a decree (*Mahjar*) was given to the winner by the persons, entrusted with the work of adjudication, who used to sign it and affix their seals (if they had any on account of their position or make signs according to their position in the society or according to their castes): The plough in the case of a *Des'mukh*, *Pātīl* etc. the Scythe (*Vilā*) in the case of *Mahār*, leather-cutter (*Kāpī*) in the case of a cobbler. The detailed judgment was called *Niyādapatra* or *Thalapatra*, (4) *Fourthly*, an ordeal could be ordered only by a Government officer, and (5) an ordeal was generally performed in a temple in the presence of the adju-

cating body. The above is cited as an example of ordeal, namely, that of taking out a small iron ball out of boiling oil, etc. without getting the hand burnt. The process is given in fair detail, which will be repeated in other cases of the type. The *Mahjar* was to be entered and copied in the office of the officer for record. There was no restriction regarding the nature of a case, but generally the *Gotsabhā* dealt with cases concerned with property or privileges and minor criminal offences. Serious offences were adjudicated by higher bodies of executive officers.

At times, a case was decided by means of the administration of an oath to the rival claimants. Mudgalbhat Pundale and various other Brāhman of Chākan claimed the privilege of officiating as priests at the various religious functions of the people at the place, while Bramhe claimed that all that was his sole privilege. The leading people of the place assembled at the platform in front of its temple, placed the leaves etc. (put upon the deity of the temple by way of worship) and upon the foreheads of the claimants and asked them to say on oath the truth. At this, they all said that the privileges in question belonged to Bramhe. Then a *Mahjar* was prepared and signed by the members of the adjudicating party; the process was simple and short. The adjudicating body may be called a *Gotsabhā*.³

III. *Des'aka-Sabhā*:

The other body that very often decided cases was the body of *Des'akas* (*Vatandārs*) *Des'mukh*, *Des'kulkarnī*, *Pātīl*, *Mukodam*, *Kulkarnī*, *Chaugulā*, *Chaudhari*, *Balutes*, etc). It was called *Des'kasbhā* which met at the headquarter of a *Parganā*. It must, however, be noted that at almost all *Des'aka Sabhās* some Government Officer or officers were generally present. And this seems to be generally true of the cases decided during the time of Malik Ambar in the Nizāms'ahī Kingdom. Probably, this was one reason why Malik Ambar's regime came to be known as one of justice. The *Des'akas* showed the tendency to be prejudiced against this or that party or were likely to be won over by money or flattery. The presence of Government officers along with the *Kāzī* generally infused an impartial and judicial

attitude into all the persons present. There was no limitation of number in this body. The *Des'akas* of other places or *Paraganās* also could be requested to constitute it. The judicial procedure was similar to that of the *Gotsabhā*. There was no restriction regarding the nature of cases to be brought before it. A case of the disputed *Mokadamship* between Māvji Pātīl and Kerojī Pātīl before the officer of the *Tape* Karkamba is cited here.⁴ The officer encamped at Gurap with *Des'mukh* and *Des'pānde*. This body decided that Māvji Pātīl should act as the *Mokadam*. At this Kerojī Pātīl became refractory and said that the decision was unjust. Narsoji Pātīl, therefore, assembled all the kinsmen and the twelve *Balutās* to decide the case by lot. Then they prepared the necessary papers with head and trunk and placed them before the deity (of the temple) and asked each of them to pick up one paper. The paper picked up by Māvji bore the head, while that picked up by Kerojī bore the trunk. Then the *Des'akas* gave the decision that Māvji was to act as the *Mokadam*, while Kerojī was to have only half of the income for maintenance. Then Māvji and Kerojī came to the headquarters of the *Tape*, and showed the papers to the *Āmina*, the *Des'mukh* and the *Des'pānde* who corroborated the decision (Thapatra) given. They wrote that Māvji was to act as the *Mokadam*, while Kerojī was to have half the income for maintenance, but whatever burden would fall on the *Mokadamship*, was to borne by both. Then they were enjoined to live peacefully. Anyone violating the *Mahjar* (decision given) was an offender against the *Divān* (i e., the State) and also false to his Kinsmen.

This decision has one peculiarity. It was decided by lot. Strictly speaking, even an ordeal, an example of which has been given above, has also some element of fortune. But both, in the eyes of the men of the old times, were an appeal to divine justice. It may incidentally be noted that, after a *Mahjar* had been prepared, which was done on the acceptance of the decision by both the parties, it was to be acted upon strictly, the violation of which amounted to an offence against the State and the people. Though it has not been said that the *Mahjar* was entered and copied in the *Divān's* office of the *Tape*, it was to be so done for the guidance of the Government officers and future reference.

Another case, adducing evidence by means of ordeal was initially decided at S'irwal (*Parganā S'irwal*) in August 1610 A.D. and in it Kāzi Sekhan, Narso Lāhmānji Majūmdar, Malhārji, son of Apāji and Apāji, son of Gorakhoji Des'mukh, Jaswant Rāo Nāik Gaibat, Nilo Deoji Mus'arifa, Vithal Kaideo Des'kulkarni, all of the said *Parganā* and *S'etes*, Has'ams, Nāiyaks, the servants of the *Thānā* of the said *Parganā Ghaugulā*, Chaudhari, etc. and *Mokadam* of the *Karyāti* of the said *Parganā* (i.e., of Ahire, Pādali, Bhāde, Palas'i, Nāhāvi, Wadgāon, Bhād Wade, Māndakī etc) were present.⁵ The case was about the job of the *Kulkarni* of village Bhogawall of the said *Parganā*, between Visāji, son of Nārobā Mhaswadā and Nāgoji, son of Kondbhat Patwardhan Joshī of the said village, Visāji, son of Nārobā Mhaswadā, stated that the *Kulkurniship* of the said village was the privilege of his father and he enjoyed it in a permanent way as an inheritance. Vanajoji Nimbalkar enjoyed the *Mokāsā* of the village. An expedition was sent against him. Apāji Des'mukh, *Mokadam* of the said village, ran away from it and Visāji also ran away with him. In his absence Nāgoji, son of Kondabhat Patwardhan, undertook the work of the *Kulkarni*; but the privilege never belonged to him. To prove his statement, he offered to perform an ordeal. Nāgoji, son of Kondabhat Patwardhan Joshī, stated that the *Kulkarniship* in question belonged to him in a permanent way and that Visāji, son of Nārobā Mhaswadā, was merely an agent of his father when the Government representatives present said that the statements had been made by the parties to the case, the *Sāhib* asked the assembly how the case stood. The people assembled said that the case was to be decided according to justice. The Government servants and other members of the assembly declared that it was to be decided by an ordeal to be performed at the temple of *Kedāres'var*. The two parties to the case agreed to it. The plaintiff Visāji, son of Nārobā Mhaswadā, offered to perform the ordeal. The marks of the hands of the litigants were noted, the nails were cut, his hand was washed by applying soap and neem (leaves), a bag was put on it, and it was sealed. Then, the hand of the defendant, Nāgoji, son of Kondbhat Patwardhan Joshī, was similarly washed, covered with a bag and sealed. Then they were ordered to take bath and to stand before the *Nandis'var* (Nandi bull?) of the *Kedār Temple*

of Kedār-Bāvi. Ghee and oil were boiled and poured in a copper plate. Visāji Nārobā plaintiff, took the ball out of it (the boiled ghee and oil), showed it to the assembly, dropped it (on the ground), put his hand into the armpit and went round the temple. Then, his hand was sealed. The same process was performed by the defendant, Nāgojī Patwardhan. They were, then, kept in the fort. On the third day (Monday), the hand of Visāji Nārāyān Mhaswadā, the plaintiff, was examined. He was found to have performed the ordeal successfully. Nāgojī Patwardhan was declared to have lost the case and was asked to have nothing to do with the job of the *Kulkārṇī* of the said village. So, the *Mahjar* was given to Visāji, son of Nārobā Mhaswadā of the said village.

This account also depicts in detail the process of an ordeal and mentions a few additional facts than those in the previous one. The whole process was treated as a religious performance. They were to put on clean clothes and take a bath (for the sake of religious purity), before the performance of the ordeal. The hand was to be bagged and sealed after it was washed *i.e.*, before the performance of the ordeal, and the marks on the hand were examined to decide that, after the performance of the ordeal, no change occurred in the same. There is one peculiarity in the above account, *namely*, that both the parties were made to perform the ordeal. But, in most cases, it was performed by one party only, generally by one who showed to be quite sure about his success. In the above account, it has not been stated whether Nāgojī Patwardhan got burns on his hand or not. How the decision could be arrived at, when both the parties to a dispute had received burns is not clear from this case. No other similar case has come to be recorded; for, as has been pointed out above, the ordeal was performed by the confident (*i.e.*, challenging) person only. Cases, in which both parties were asked to perform the ordeal were extremely rare, and a case with the common result of the ordeal performed by each party has not come to be noted. In the above case, it has not been clearly noted that the order for the performance of an ordeal was given by the Government officer only. Generally, it was so; but, in the case noted above, the order seems to have been given by the whole assembly, con-

sisting of some Government servants and a large number of *Des'akas* (i.e., *Vatandārs*). It is to be noted that before the order for the ordeal was given, the parties were asked to give their statements in writing, as also their agreement to abide by the decision to be given in accordance with the result of the ordeal.

IV. *Rāj-Sabhā*:

The third category of body that sometimes gave decisions to litigants, consisted mostly or wholly of Government officers and officials. The King always was the last and supreme court. A reference may be made to the case decided by the body that consisted of Government servants (including *Sardārs*), in which *Rudrājī Dāmodar* and *Bābājī Bhūpālrao Lāmbes* stood against *Vithal Kāideo Kulkarnī* of *Parganā S'riwal* and claimed his job of the *Des'kulkarnī*.⁶ The new claimants attacked *Vithal Kāideo*, the members of his family, his servants and friends, and caused injuries to them. Then, the *Des'mukhs*, *S'ete*, *Mahājans* and other *Des'akas* of *Wāi* petitioned (to the *Havaldār*?) that it was a very strange incident, occurring about the *Des'kulkarnīship*, that the permanent *Kulkarnī* was not at fault at all and that his legitimate privileges were unjustly interfered with and troubles were caused and injuries were inflicted by the said *Rudrājī* and *Dādājī (Bābājī?)*. They further stated that the *Kulkarnīship* belonged permanently to *Vithal Kāideo*, that his ancestors have enjoyed it for generations, that the said *Lāmbes* had nothing to do with it and that their own elders never said anything of that kind. The petitioners entreated the officer (*Sāhib*) to pay attention to the plea and give justice to *Vithal Kāideo* by summoning him before himself. The said *Sāhib* then summoned *Vithal Kāideo* in his presence and looked into the case between him and the *Lāmbes* and found out that *Vithal Kāideo* and his ancestors enjoyed the *Kulkarnīship* for generations; the *Lāmbes* had no right to the privileges, they were intruders and unnecessarily caused troubles by resort to violence. Thus, the evidence was given by the *Des'mukhs*, *Des'kulkarnīs* and *S'ete-Mahājans*. The assembly (of Government servants and *Sardārs*), therefore, gave the decision that *Vithal Kāideo* was the real and permanent *Kulkarnī* and that

the Lāmbes had nothing to do with it. A *Mahjar* was accordingly prepared.

The decision in the above case was accorded partly on the basis of the papers possessed by Vitthal Kāideo and partly on the basis of the oral evidence given by the *Des'mukhs*, *Des'-kulkarṇis* and *S'ete-Mahājans* (i.e., the leading *vatandārs* of the area). The whole case was decided by the Government servants who were petitioned to do it in the interest of law and order. The Lāmbes had used force and caused disturbance in the area and tried to possess forcibly the privileges of a permanent incumbent. It was not, however, one person, but a *body of* Government servants that dealt with the case.

There were, however, cases in which only *one* officer gave decisions either on the basis of written papers or on the basis of written documents and oral evidence. Very often, such decisions partook the nature of executive orders, *for example*, in case of the disputed office of the *Des'pande* between Kānhojī Trimal and Umārām Rāmājī.⁷ The later stated that while his father performed the duties of the *Des'pande*, his (Umārām's brother) was killed. He himself used to accompany his father to the office of the *Diwān*. He was given that work during the life-time of his father, Rāmājī; others were awarded shares (in the same) and these continued to enjoy them. After the death of his father, Rāmājī, the Moghul *Mokāsdār*, Mizākojā also awarded the office of the *Des'pande* to him (Umārām), after he had made his formal presents. But later on, Kānhojī Trimal played tricks and used force and took possession of the office. Thereafter, the said territory (of Khedle) came into the possession of the *Hazrat* (Nizāms'ah). Umārām, then, brought his papers, including those given by Mālojī Rājc Bhonsle and Bīrsingdeo Bundelā of the Moghul regime. Kānhojī was then summoned and asked to give his statement. Unhappily, this portion of the paper got worm-eaten; and, therefore, the statement cannot be made out on the basis of the extant words. Umārām filed the orders given by his Majesty, the King and Mālojī Bhonsle (Nizāms'ah) and Bīrsing Deo, (Moghul officer). He was, therefore, given the *Des'pāndeship*. The adjudicating authority is not mentioned. But the last words are in the nature of an executive order issued by *one* officer, though it has been

called a *Mahjar*. There is no direct or indirect reference to a body of any kind. This very case had been dealt with in 1613 A. D. by Haibatkhān⁸ who issued a deed of assurance to Vithal Kāideo Kulkarnī of *Parganā S'riwal*. He took down the evidence of *Des'mukhis* and other *Des'akas* of the different *Mahāls* of *Parganā Poonā* and of *Parganā Wāi* and of *Karyāt Sāsrad* and *Tape Ganjanmāwal* and declared that Vithal Kāideo was the permanent *Des'kulkarnī*. Though this has been called *Kaulnāmā* (deed of assurance), in nature, it amounts to a judicial decision. Again, the *Lāmbes* raised troubles in 1619 A. D. or 1620 A. D.⁹ and a similar order was issued in 1620 A. D. In this order, there is reference to the decisions given by Haibatkhān and Malik Ambar.

Generally, however, all the different kinds of persons were asked to assemble for adjudication in a case where privileges were in disputes. These persons did consider the existing documents, but also took down evidence of all who were expected to know anything of the case. In the case between Visājī Nārobā Mhaswadā and Nāgojī, son of Konddeo Patwardhan, each claimed the *Kulkarnīship* of village Bhogawālī.¹⁰ Visājī wanted to show that his father performed the work of the *Kulkarnī* of the village. Nāgojī son of Konddeo Patwardhan, stated that Nārobā (Visājī's father) acted merely as an agent of his grandfather, who had engaged him for the work on account of his old age, but he claimed that Visājī should perform the ordeal and that he himself would afford the shade. The writer of the assembly proceedings could see through the trick and refused to take down the statement of Visobā, as given out by him, unless the claimant said that the *Kulkarnīship* belonged to his father as a privilege of permanent occupancy. This point has to be noted by us as a peculiarity in the process of an adjudication. It must be remembered that very often the *Des'kulkarnis* or even village *Kulkarnīs* employed agents for their work, who after some years, or whose descendants in the second or third generation claimed the rights in a hereditary way. Therefore, tricks of the above kind were very often played, and as an assembly could be entrapped into giving a decision in the favour of the agent or his descendants if the ordeal was favourable. The above case became a very complicated one on account of trans-

fer of the area from one officer to another. In the account of this case, we find one more noteworthy point, *namely*, that a party could not leave the place appointed for adjudication without giving a surety for appearance. Another point to be noted is that, at times, the statement, made by the performer of the ordeal, was tied to his forehead, showing that he was bound to keep up its sanctity. *Thirdly*, if the signatories were alive, they were summoned for cross-examination. Whenever a person cited a witness, it was his duty to make him appear before the court. In case he failed to do so, doubt was thrown on the authenticity of his statement. The details of the process of ordeal, sometimes, varied to some extent. At times, the temperature of the boiled ghee and oil was tested by putting some rice into the same, as was done in the case under reference. At times, the performer of the ordeal went a number of times round the vessel containing the boiled ghee and oil. But the main process was the same, as has been mentioned in the cases, already cited.

The above case was again opened up in January, 1621 and adjudicated by an assembly consisting of officers, officials and *Des'akas* and, probably, leading men of the society. This paper gives in short the history of the case beginning with the year 1613.¹¹ In this document¹² it has been mentioned that as the case was one of permanent occupancy, it was necessary to examine the prescription and witnesses. In the course of the examination, it was found that Kādeo had been in the enjoyment of the privileges for a very long time and, as the *Mamlakat Madarisāhib* (*Malik Ambar*) never broke the practice that obtained for twenty years and as it could not be adjudicated in the *Mahāl*, the *Kulkarnīship* was suspended and taken over by government till it was decided by the *Mamlakat Madarisāhib* himself one way or other.

Then the case was taken to Malik Ambar. It is found that evidence was taken locally by persons deputed. This resembles the modern practice of taking evidence by commission. The three papers were cited in evidence. These are given in original in the document under reference; two of these papers were orders issued by Malik Ambar himself. Taking all evidence and

papers into consideration, Malik Ambar again gave decision in favour of Vithal Kāideo.

But this did not end the matter. After the death of Vithal Kāideo and the senior Lāmbes, it was reopened in 1622 A.D. By the end of 1621 A.D. or beginning of 1622 A.D. S'irwal was given as *Mokāsā* to one *Rājesāhib*¹³ and an order was issued by this *Rājesāhib* to instal Gaṇo Rudrā (jī) Lāmbē as the *Des'kulkarnī* of the said *Parganā*. So Rāmāji, son of Vithal Kāideo, appeared before the *Thānedār* and stated that the *Des'kulkarnīship* belonged to him in a hereditary way, and in that connection he gave the history of the case. The *Rājesāhib* enquired of the *vatandārs* and other leading people, and gave the decision in favour of Rāmāji Vithal *Des'kulkarnī*, but Gaṇo Rudrā (jī) Lāmbē was not prepared to accept it and requested him to send on the case to Malik Ambar. Again, Malik Ambar collected evidence as on a similar previous occasion, gave the decision in favour of Rāmāji Vithal *Des'kulkarnī* and tore away the papers of Lāmbē, who was asked to clear out and who, therefore, ran away. The *Rājesāhib* also gave the office to Rāmāji Vithal *Des'kulkarnī*, and declared that if Lāmbē caused troubles any more, he would be committing an offence against the *Diwān*, i.e., the State. This case brings out no special point of adjudication except that the hearsay evidence could not be taken into consideration for the decision of a case, involving the question of permanent occupancy of a job, as that of a *vatandārship*.

V. *Brāhmaṇa-Sabhā*:

There, however, used to be a fourth body, namely, a body of learned Brāhmans, local or distant, in some cases, especially when impartiality or a point of the Hindu law was involved. We give here a brief summary of a few cases. The case about *pātilship* of the town of Masūr between Narsoji Jagadale *Des'mukh* of *Tape Masūr*, plaintiff, and Bāpāji, son of Yākūbji Musalmān, had been adjudicated several times before 1611 A.D.¹⁴ and there were papers of decision done at some places in the Adils'ahī Kingdom; a *farmān* of Ibrāhīm Adils'ah, a *farmān* of Ali Adils'ah of Bijāpur and a *farmān* of Barids'ah. Bāpāji

Musalman requested that his case might be sent up for decision, as, wherever the case was decided till then, people backed up Jagdale and stated that he was ready to abide by the decision done at a distant place. *Havaldār* Daulatkān said that in fact the case should be decided locally, but as Bāpūjī (Muslim) had elected that his case should be transferred for decision to a distant place, the *Havaldār* expressed his readiness to send it to Pratiṣṭhān (Paithan) on the bank of the Godāvārī, as it was well-known for the award of justice and had adjudicated in several cases. The case was entrusted to the law experts and religious officials, Harī Pāthāk and Mānik Pāthāk, These called an assembly at the platform of religious functions and took down the statements of the litigants:

The plaintiff, Narsojī, son of Kūmājī Jagdale stated: "My grand-father, Bābājī, performed the work of the *Des'mukh* of Type Masūr and of the *Pāṭil* of the said township. He had two sons: the elder was Vithojī and the younger was Kūmājī, who was only an infant. There is a tomb of Pīr Jalāfuddin. He was called the *pīr* of the Muslims and also of the Hindus: There, (at the tomb), the Hindus did charities on the right side and the Muslims gave a religious feast, (Kandūri) on the left. This has been an old established practice. Whatever income there accrued was spent by the Hindus over the visitors and by the Muslims over charity to the Muslim mendicants. After some time, the Muslims in conjunction with the (Muslim) priest of the mosque violated the practice. Therefore, my grand-father scolded the said priest for stopping an old practice, and asked him to allow its continuance. He took offence at this scolding and, with the help of two persons, he killed my grand-father and uncle. My father, Kūmājī was an infant. My grand-mother, therefore, ran away with him to the house of her parents and brought him up there and appointed an agent to look after the *Vatan*. Having become a grown-up boy, he came back to his *Vatan* (place). As the said priest had killed my grand-father and uncle for no fault of theirs, my father took revenge for the same by killing the priest and his two accomplices. Abdul Hussain (the *Havaldār*?) summoned them before him, but my father did not see him. Kākūd, the father of Bāpūjī was the gardener of Karhād and was a well-to-do man, and used to do money-lend-

ing in our village. He (once) took to beating and thrashing the people for the payment of loans out of season. My father, therefore, asked him to realise his money from the people only in season. At this, they crossed hot words, but the people were allowed to go. The daughter of Yākūb had been married to the son of Nāik (*Havaldār*) of Karhād. This man kept watch over my father and having seized my father, took him to Karhād, looted our house and took away all the things, and accused him for the murder of the priest, and confiscated the *Des'mukhship* and *Pātīlship*. My father was in the prison for three years. Then Mahādji Pātīl of Charegāon pleaded on his behalf. The Nāik imposed a ransom of 4500 *Hons* on my father for his freedom. At last, he agreed to release the *Pātīlship* on the payment of a ransom of three thousand *Hons*. Having taken a surety (for him) he sent him to Masūr in the company of Yākūb. My father, however, ran away while on the way. At this, the management of the *Des'mukhship* and *Pātīlship* that had been confiscated, was entrusted to Yākūb. Now, Yākūb complained that he (i.e. my father) killed his relation, the priest, and came in the way of realisation of his moneys lent out and got the *Pātīlship* awarded to himself by the Nāik. The *Des'mukhship*, however, continued to be under confiscation. He, thus, forcibly acted on the strength of his wealth. My father, having become old, died. I, then, appealed to the *Jagadgurū* (Ibrāhīm Ādils'āh of Bijāpur). The king entrusted the work of adjudication to Ambarkhān. He decreed that the *Diwān's* office had imposed upon him a ransom of 4500 *Hons*, but he (Yākūb) had nothing to do with the *Pātīlship*. At the same time, he said to me that the ransom imposed upon me (for his offences) could not be remitted; I must, therefore, pay it and get my *vatans* restored to myself and that Yākūb had nothing to do with the same. I agreed to pay the ransom, sold away half of the *Pātīlship* to another person (for three thousand *Hons*?), agreed to deposit (the rest) 1500 *Hons* in the *Diwān's* office and got my *Pātīlship* restored. At this, some (five or seven) Muslim relations of the *Huzūr* (*Havaldār*?) troubled and oppressed me. Then, the *Mokūsdār* of the MM (Malik Ambar) ordered a fresh adjudication to be done at Karhād. Here also, the Muslim (Bāpūji) lost his case. At this, Bāpūji said that the adjudication done at Karhād had been vitiated by partiality and that he wanted the

same to be done at a distant place. It was, therefore, that my case has been sent here. He (Bāpājī) has harassed me and has been driving me from pillar to post. I regard the adjudicators as parents. Whatever you will be pleased to award will he abide with by me". At this, the defendant, Bapājī Musalmān stated "my father used to do money-lending business and carried on this work at Masūr. The ryots had taken loans from him which he demanded to be paid back to him. He (Jagdale's grandfather) scolded him for the same and asked him not to demand the payment of loans given by him. My father had married his daughter into the family of the *Pīrjādā* (i.e. the Muslim priest) of Masūr. Kūmājī's father killed him and his two sons. My father, therefore, reported the matter to the Nāib Abdul Husain who summoned Kūmājī (to appear before him) and arrested him and imposed a ransom on him (for his freedom); but he gave a surety and ran away. Then my father on the plea of the murder of the sons of his daughter got the award of the *Pātīlship* (of Masūr) on the payment of money into the *Divān's* office. He (complainant), his father and grandfather did not allow the repayment of the loans advanced (by my father), and was to account for the murder of his relations; but, he has driving me from place to place for adjudication. You are to me as good as my parents; my demand of repayment of loans is just. I have chosen this place for adjudication in the hope that you will do your work according to law; you will keep aside the question of a litigant being a Muslim or a Hindu, and do your work of decision strictly according to rights. I shall abide with your award".

Then the adjudicators decided to look into the papers relating to the case. They found that the decision given by Ambar Khān was in favour of Jagdale; and rejected in case of the Muslim (Bāpājī), that the decision given in that case at Karhād was also of the same type, that he said *Des'mukhship* and *Pātīlship* had come to be enjoyed by the Jagdale for years together and when there cropped up a case between Jagdeo Rāo Jagdale Brāhman, the (old) *Desāi* of Karhād and Masūrkar (?) about this *vatandārship*, the *farmāns* were given to the effect that the *Des'mukhship* and *Pātīlship* had come to belong to the Jagdale for generations. In reply, this Muslim Bāpājī stated that

Pir Jalāduddīn was originally a Hindu and he himself was his descendant and that the [(Muslim) Priesthood was his right and that, the] murders done by the Jagdale were unjust. Then, Jagdale requested the adjudicators to question him why his grand-father and uncle were murdered. These (adjudicators) put Bāpūjī the question why the priest murdered Jagdale's grandfather and uncle. Bāpājī replied that the priest killed the two Jagdales, as they had taken possession of his *Vatan*. Jagdale, however, killed three persons (including the priest). This was (perfectly) unjust. He was to account for the one additional murder and arrange the repayment of the loans (given by his father), failing which he must perform an ordeal. The adjudicators then asked Bāpājī to state who was responsible for the repayment of the loans and if he had any papers. If the same were given on the surety of Kūmājī, and stated that if he possessed those papers of surety, they would order their repayment (by Kūmājī), but the loans were given directly (without taking surety for the same), it was, therefore, quite proper (on the part of Jagdales) to scold his father for forcibly realising loans out of season, and it was unjust on his part to drive the Jagdale from one place to another for decision. As regards the murders, the adjudicators said that the priests killed two Jagdales for no offence at all. In fact, for the murder of even one, Jagdale ought to have taken revenge by murdering eleven each, but he killed only three persons (by way of revenge). At this, Bāpājī said that when Kūmājī was arrested and brought (to Karhād), Kūmājī gave in writing that whatever (loans) were yet to be realised, were to be recovered from him. To this Narsojī Jagdale rejoined that his father gave that in writing only to save himself from beating and thrashing in the prison where he was locked up for three years and that, at that time, the *Nāib* took up his cause and looted and plundered the whole village; all the same, he was ready to pay the loans that might have remained unpaid, if an account be prepared of the same, but it was not proper on his part to force him to do (unjust) things. Now, Bāpājī stated that he (the complainant) should perform an ordeal, if he (the defendant) was accused of using force and that if he succeeded in it, he would have nothing to do with that *Pātilship*. At this the adjudicators said that as there was evidence available, ordeal could not be resorted to.¹⁵

Then, the chairman (*Sābhānāyak*) of the assembly ruled that the decision was to be done according to the great treatise '*Vijñāneswar*' (*Vijñānes'war's Mitāks'ara* commentary on *Yñjñya-valkeya-smṛti*). Then reference was made to this treatise that one who demanded the performance of an ordeal, while evidence (written or oral) was available, was to be awarded capital punishment. The pertinent verses in this regard are:—

यद्यो कोमानुपी द्रुयात्तदन्यो द्रुयास्त दैवकी ।

मानुपी तत्र गृह्णियान तु दैवीक्रिया नृप ॥ १ ॥

राते पत्नेभूते साक्षे देशाश्च प्रलयन्तपतः ।

त्रिभिः स्तत्र न विद्यते चतुर्थ दिव्य साधनं ॥ २ ॥

Reference is here made to the well known legal maxim. "If one demanded resort to human evidence while the other demanded resort to divine evidence, the king should accept the way of human evidence, ordeal is to be performed only when the document has been lost (or destroyed), the witnesses are dead, the country has been subject to catastrophe, and therefore, the three (kind of evidence, document, witnesses and prescription do not exist)".¹⁶ Therefore, it is not clear who should be made to perform the ordeal. While there are documents and witnesses, you yourself acted violently and got Jagdale's father arrested and got a ransom imposed upon him, deprived him (of the enjoyment) of his *Vatans*, and, now, by using force, put him to troubles and caused a break in the enjoyment of the *Vatans*. You have done all these offences and deserve capital punishment. But you are a Muslim, you are, therefore, allowed to go (without punishment). Narsoji Jagdale said that there is nothing in the *śāstras*, which can allow to raise a question (in such matters). Then the adjudicators said that as decision had been given in his case and that as he had lost it, while Jagdale had won it, you give your letter to that effect. So, Bāpāji (Muslim) gave a letter of succession in favour of Jagdale, in which he wrote that the *Patilship* of Masūr belonged to Jagdale and that he had no claims over him either on account of murders (of his relations) or on the account of loans (given by him to the ryots of Masūr) and, if he ever raised a question on any of the above account, he would be doing an offence against his Kinsmen and the *Divān*. Such a letter was given for Khān Azam Daulatkhān, The

Chairman and other members of the *Brāhmanasabhā* then gave a paper of judicial judgement to Jagdale, awarding him the *Des'mukhship* of *Tape Masūr* and the *Pāṭilship* of the said town and saying that Bāpāji Musalmān had nothing to do with those privileges.

The above is in a way a peculiar case, a case between a Hindu and a Muslim, in which the Muslim claimed to have his case decided elsewhere and before a body of Brāhman by means of the old Hindu process, namely ordeal. Whether this was a regular practice or not, it is difficult to say. The old practice of securing decisions from by learned Brāhman continued and it seems to have been followed even in those cases where one of the litigants was a Hindu, though the other was a Muslim. *Secondly*, the Hindu law regarding ordeal was followed even in this case. *Thirdly*, it may be noted that the *Yājñyavalkya-Smṛti* with its *Mitāks'ara* commentary provided the law regarding property and methods of procedure in legal contests. This continued unchanged even in the time of S'ivāji. *Fourthly*, it may be noted that some selected places, such as Paithān, Kolhāpur, Wāi, Nās'ik, Punatāmbe, Karhād, Mahābales'war and Pandharpur, regarded as sacred and well-known for their learned men, were generally chosen for impartial decisions by a body of Brāhman. From the historical view-point, it has to be noted that judges were not afraid of the Muslim rulers and that the Hindus could give their judgement without fear or favour. Though the judges have said that Bāpāji deserved capital punishment for his offences, they could not award that to him as he was a Muslim and the king too was a Muslim. They were bold enough to make this statement and gave a judgment against a Muslim and denounce him vehemently for his offences. This shows clearly that Malik Ambar's regime was well-known for his non-interference with the course of justice. That *Vatans* were properties and could be sold and purchased is also clear from this case. Historically, one more point, namely, how the *Vatandārs* stuck to their *Vatans*, is also established by this case. *Lastly*, it has to be unhappily noted that a judgement once given could be challenged and taken to another court even though a *Mahjar* had been prepared in which it was generally ordained that any one violating it was guilty of an offence against his kinsmen and

against the *Diwān* (i.e., the State). The procedure makes out one more point, namely, that the litigants could examine each other and could be examined by the judges. The procedure was almost the same in all the cases dealt with similarly. First the *Sabhā*, whatever it might be, asked the plaintiff and the defendant if they would abide by the decision that might be given by it. This agreement was generally taken down in writing. There were also to give sureties to that effect, if demanded. Then, they were asked to give their statements regarding the case in writing. The nature of the suit was duly and clearly recorded. At times, they were allowed to make supplementary statements. Then they were asked to produce evidence, oral and written (whatever there might be) to prove their respective statements and they were to prove the authenticity of documents, if they were asked to do so. Witnesses had to make their statements on oath. The parties to the suit or witnesses could be examined either by the parties or by the members of the adjudicating body. When the verdict was ready, the parties were asked if they were ready to accept it. In case of refusal, they were free to take their case to any other body for decision. The veracity of a statement, if oral or written proof was lacking, it could be challenged to be proved by an ordeal; but, generally for this, a Government officer's order was necessary. If the two parties agreed to a recourse to an ordeal, they were asked to give a declaration to that effect. In the ancient India, there obtained various processes of an ordeal, but in Mahārastra of Malik Ambar's time, the process detailed in the cases cited above, generally obtained, and was called *Ravā* (picking an ironball out of boiled oil and ghee).

Some general facts can also be gleaned from the cases contained in these documents; (a) The parties concerned had to pay a kind of court fee. It was called *S'eranī* in the case of the winner and *Harakī* in the case of a loser; but they could be exempted from the same on the recommendation of the court. (b) Generally, *ex parte* judgment was not given. Every party to a suit was required to be personally present, and they could not leave the place without giving a surcty for attendance. One, not willing to attending a court, could be made to do so by the executive officer, (c) Copies of documents were inadmissible as

evidences and (d) Lepers were not allowed to perform ordeal. This was in fact the old custom.¹⁸ In the sequel, all the available judicial cases of Malik Ambar's regime are tabulated in their chronological sequence with their relevant particulars to present a brief critical examination and analysis: (e) Cases were decided on oath, taken in a temple or on sacred things (as in the case of Brahme, cited above, (f) The violation of a *Mahjar* generally amounted to an offence against the Government and the State, and in some cases, sureties were taken for binding the parties to act according to the *Mahjar*,¹⁹ especially when troubles were apprehended from the losing party.

VI. Table: Judicial Cases

| Sr. Place No. | Date | Ligitants | Name of Litigation | Body | Procedure | Reference | Remarks | |
|--------------------------|------------------------|--|---|----------|---|------------------------------|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 1. Wār | 18-5-1597 A.D. | Veet Setī Vāgh Seel Setī Vāgh Setiyā of Kā- lavat V/S Mālseti Setiyā of Kālavat. | Office of a Per- fect of Mart (Sete) | Rājsabhā | Inquiry. | S.C.S.-V Art. 836. | 42 persons present in the <i>Sabhā</i> . Court fees of 150 Hons. paid by Veet Setī. | |
| 2. Pan- hālā Fort. | 1598-99 A.D. | Tāno Mega- deu <i>Des'kul- karnī, Tape Wāive V/S Jagobā Manako.</i> | Office of <i>Des'kul- karnī.</i> | —do— | Evidence of wit- nesses. | S.C.S.-IV Art. 715. | In all villages of <i>Tape</i> , mentioned in the <i>Maljar</i> , there were <i>choit- galās</i> . | |
| 3. Chā- kaṇ. | 27-11- 1601 A.D. | Mudgal Pundale V/S Brahme. | Gift of Funeral rites. | —do— | Swearing on oath by wit- nesses. | <i>M.I.S.-XV</i> Art. 430 | Assembly in a temple. | |

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
|----|----------------------|------------------------|---|--|----------------------------|---|------------------------------|---|
| 4. | Poonā | 5-7-1608 A.D. | Tān Pātīl s/o Achal Pātīl Kumbhārkar V/S Pātīl s/o, Vad Pātīl Khadage. | Office of Pātīl. | —do— | Ordeal of taking out a ball from boiling fat. | M.I.S.- XVIII, Art. 3. | 43 members in the assembly including 5 Muslims. |
| 5. | Not recor ded. | 9-11-1608 A.D. | Malajī Patel Tekī V/S Panālekar, village Kumathe. | —do— | <i>Des'aka- Sabha.</i> | Evidence by wit- nesses. | S.C.S.-V, Art 884. | Unanimous deci- sion. |
| 6. | Haveli | 23-11- 1608 A.D. | | Boundary dispute between the villa- ges of Ghātan, <i>Tape,</i> Karkamb | <i>Gotsabhā</i> | Ordeal by fire. | S.L.-II, Art 6. | The particulars of the ordeal are in- teresting. Miya Azam deputed for adjudication by the Govt. Refer- ence to <i>Munsib- dār.</i> |

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
|-------------------------|-----------|--|---|---|---|--|-----------------------|---|-----------------------|
| | | | | | and the village of Bhosar, <i>Tape</i> Udar- gaon. | | | | |
| 7. Not re- corded | 1610 A.D. | Gopālbhat Pujāri of Wani V/S Bhūji Bhope Gurava. | — | — | Money of wor- ship. | — | — | <i>Q.B.I.S.M.</i> -VI-1-4, P. 67-68 | Incomplete Mahjar. |
| 8. Poonā A.D. | 1610 | — | — | Boundary dispute between villages of Kad- gāu and Mouja Pārgau | <i>Rājśabhā</i> | First or- deal by fire, fol- lowed by taking ball out of boil- ing fat. | S.C.S.-II Art. 93. | 31 members inclu- ding 6 Muslims. | |

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
|-----|-----------------------------------|------------------------|---|---|-----------------------------|--|-------------------------|---|
| 9. | S'irwal | 7-8-1610 A.D. | Visājī S/O Narobā Mhā- savadā V/S Nāgojī S/O Kondabhat Patwardhan. | of Prānt Poona. Office of Kulkarnī at Bho- gawali. | —do— | Ordeal by taking ball out of boil- ing fats. | S.C.S.-I, Art. 9. | The discription of the ordeal is in- teresting. No fine (<i>Harakāt</i>) paid. |
| 10. | Pratis- thān (Pai- thān) | 14-1-1611 A.D. | Narsojī Jagdāle V/S Bāpājī S/O Yākūt Musala- mān. | Office of Pāṭīl at Masūr. | <i>Brāhma- ṇasabhā.</i> | Verifi- cation of previous deeds and judg- ments. | S.C.S.I, Art 10. | Refer to the text of the chapter for details. |
| 11. | Puran- dhar Fort | 10-12- 1616 A.D. | Sūryājī Maral Des'mukh V/S Bābājī Junjar- rāu Des'mukh. —do— | Office of Des'mukh. | <i>Rājsabhā</i> | Oral evidence. | S.C.S.-V Art 946. | Members all Hin- dus except one. |
| 12. | —do— | 10-12- 1616 A.D. | —do— | —do— | <i>Desaka- sabhā</i> | — | M.I.S.- XVI, Art. 5. | The same as No. 15. |

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
|-----|-----------------|----------------|---|--|--|--|-----------------------|---|
| 13. | Sūpe | 3-12-1619 | — | Boundary dispute between township of Sūpe and village of age of Vadhaṅc. | Boundary dispute between township of Sūpe and village of age of Vadhaṅc. | Previous papers and ordeal. | M.I.S. XVIII, Art. 4. | The demarcation of boundaries by members of the <i>Sabhā</i> traversing over them. |
| 14. | Not recor- ded. | 27-9-1621 A.D. | — | Boundary dispute: the Mālasiras, (<i>Parganā</i> Sūpe) Tekāwādi and Pistrave, (<i>Tarf</i> . Karhe-pathār) | Boundary dispute: the Mālasiras, (<i>Parganā</i> Sūpe) Tekāwādi and Pistrave, (<i>Tarf</i> . Karhe-pathār) | Ordeal by taking out ball from boiling fats. | S.L.-II Art 39. | All Hindu members of the <i>Sabhā</i> . The boundary marks described in minute details. The dispute started in Mahk Ambar's regime and finally closed in Bājirāo (Thorale). |

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
|-----|----------------------|-----------------|--|---------------------------|----------|--|-------------------------------|--|
| 15. | Not recor- ded. | 15-1-1422 A.D. | Udārām Des'pānde V/S Kānhojī Trimal. | Office of Des'pānde. | — | — | Q. B. I. S. M.-IV-1-4, P. 47. | The paper is torn. This is the only Mahjar of Berar. |
| 16. | Bhor/ Rohi- dā | 19-1-1622 A.D. | | Mortgage | Gotsabhā | Evidence by wit- nesses. | S. C. S.-III- Art 577. | The total members: 175. |
| 17. | S'irwal | 15-5-1623 A.D. | Rāmāji S/O Vithal Kāideo V/S Gano Rudra Lāmbe. | Office of Des'kul- karnū. | Gotsabhā | Written evidence of pre- vious papers. | S. C. S.-I Art 21. | |
| 18. | Nibodī (Frānt Poonā) | 19-12-1626 A.D. | Rajhoji s/o Piloo Patel Sedakar v/s Hāuji s/o Sāuji Kāmiyā. village Chāmoli. | Office of Moka- dam. | —do— | Mutual compro- mise suggest- ed. | S. C. S.-I, Art 22. | Equal divisions allocated to rival claimants. |

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
|-----|---------|-----------|---|-----------------------------|--------------------|--|--|--|
| 19. | Nās'ik | 17-5-1626 | Hirai Koma Govind Pra- bhū <i>Dharmā-</i> <i>dhtikārī</i> and Fulai, S/o Govinda Pra- bhū V/S Mahādaprabhū Balprabhū <i>Dharmā-</i> <i>dhtikārī</i> . | Mainten- ance | <i>Munifadār</i> . | Evidence by wit- nesses? | S.C.S.-II Art 290. | Women partook in the dispute. |
| 20. | Sās'wad | 26-2-1626 | Sūryājī s/o Mahādji Powār V/S Dādā Pātīl s/o Chāhū Pātīl Badha. | Office of <i>Mokadam</i> | <i>Rājsabhā</i> | Ordeal by taking a ball out of boiling fat. | Miscellane- ous (V.T. Gune: The judicial system of the Marā- thās) | Useful from the point of view of the ordeal. |

Out of the total number of 20 judicial cases tabulated above, nos. 11 and 12 are one and the same, leaving in all 19 cases for consideration.

The kinds of disputes tried by various judicial bodies during Malik Ambar's regime may be classified as follows:

I. *Hereditary Offices and Titles:*

- (i) Of a Parganā Headman (*Des'mukh*): 11 & 12.
- (ii) Of a Parganā Record-keeper (*Des'kulkarnī*): 2 & 17.
Des'pānde: 15.
- (iii) Of a village Headman (*Mokadam*): 18 & 20.
- (iv) Of a village Record Keeper (*Kulkarnī*): 9.
- (v) Of a prefect of a Mart. (*S'ete*): 1.

II. *About movable property:*

- (i) About the gift of funeral rites: 3.
- (ii) Money dispute: 7.
- (iii) Mortgage: 16.

III. *Village Boundary Disputes:* 6, 8, 13 and 14.

IV. *Miscellaneous:* 19.

Reference to *Munsibadār*/*Munsifadār*, besides the *Kāzī*, seems to point to the conclusion that a new judicial office at *Parganā* or *Tarf* headquarters was created during Malik Ambar's regime. However, this new official dignitary appears to be solely presiding officer of judicial body, representing the State Government, rather than one invested with independent powers of judicial judgments and, finally, declaring the decision and issuing the necessary and relevant writs of judgment.

In conclusion, it may be said safely that the traditional judicial system and practices of the Deccan were allowed to operate uninterrupted in the Nizāms'āhī kingdom which assured impartial, inexpensive and prompt disposal of judicial disputes and the parties concerned had unfettered rights for going in for appeals against former decisions to other bodies or officers or at other places.

APPENDIX D

V.T. Gunc: Glossary in the Judicial System of the Marāthās.

1. *Karyāt* (Arabic)—A Mahal composed of ten or twelve villages.
2. *Kasbā* (Arabic)—The chief town of a Tarf of a Pargana, the town, the town having a mart.
3. *Mahājan*—An hereditary officer in a Kasbā, assistant of a *Shetya*.
4. *Mahāl*—A Subdivision of a Parganā.
5. *Parganā* (Persian)—A large division of a country with one or more towns at the boundary district.
6. *Petha* (Arabic)—A trading centre, a place of sale or traffic, the town of market belonging to a fort.
7. *Samnat* (Arabic)—used such as Tarf, a division of country comprising a varying number of villages.
8. *Shetya*—An hereditary officer in a mart or commercial firm. Prefect of the market.
9. *Tarf* (Arabic) A small division of a country composed of a varying number of village. In original Arabic works it is 'Taraf.'
10. *Thānā*—The head station of a *Tarf*, also, generally, a post, station, stand, or lodge. Under the civil authority the establishment was maintained there.

References and Notes

1. *B.F*-III, 320, *F.A.* (*S.C.V.S.*-III, 6: *Q.B.I.S.M.*-XX-2); *M.A.D.R.* (*Q.B.I.S.M.*-XI-1,101).
2. *S.L.*, 62-63.
3. *M.I.S.*-XV, Art. 420
V.T. Gunc points out that there three categories of *Gotsabha*: the *Pargana Gotsabhā*, the *Tarf Gotsabhā* and the *Village Gotsabhā*. (*The Judicial System of the Marāthās*, 61).
4. *S.L.*, Art. 12,17-18.
5. *S.C.S.*-I, Art.9.
6. *Ibid.*, Art. 10.
7. *Q.B.I.S.M.*-IV-1,4.
8. *S.C.S.*-I, Art.7.
9. *Ibid.*, Art.8.

10. *Ibid.*, Art. 9 (See *supra*)
11. *Ibid.*, Art. 7 (See *supra*).
12. *Ibid.*, Art. 13.
13. This 'Rājāsāheb' is likely to be *Māloji Bonsle*, who was operating in that area, probably, from the year, 1620 A.D. When the Ādilsah seems to have declared hostilities against the Nizāmsāhi kingdom (S.C.S.-I, 39 & S.C.S.-II, Art., 114).
14. *M.J.S.-XV*, Art. 6, dated the 14th January, 1611 A.D.
15. Reference is here made to the well-known legal maxim: (see *supra* in the text).
दिवस असता दिवा नाही, गोही असता खा नाही.
16. This verse is to be found in the commentary on the vers :
प्रमाणं लिखितं मुक्तिः । साक्षिणश्चेति कीर्तिम् । एषामन्यतयाभावेम
दिव्यान्यततमुच्यते ॥ याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति ॥ (निर्णय सागर प्रेस 4rth E and
reads thus : यद्यको मानुषी ब्रूयादन्यो ब्रूयान्तु देविकाम्
If one says that resort must be made for decision to human evidence, while other says that divine evidence should be resorted to, the king should accept the method of human (and not of divine evidence). This is cited in the opinion of Katyāyan. Nārād's opinion resembles the second verse to a slight extent. It seems that there are different recensions of the Mitāks'ara. In the above verse शते seems to be a misreading for गते. Generally, such misquotations occurred in Marāthi documents, while citations were made from the original Sanskrit texts.
17. *S.L.*, Art. 9 (pt.IV). The members referred to Vijnānes'va for law-points.
18. Mitāks'ara on verse 98 of the Chapter on ordeals of the Yanavalkya-Smṛti, Nirṇaya-Sāgar Press, Edition of 1636 A.D.
19. *S.C.S.-I*, 6.

Financial Administration

I. *Introduction :*

Administration of the finances of a state forms an important and vital branch of government, for on it depends not only the defence of a country but also the welfare and progress of its people. Finances have two aspects: income and expenditure. Unfortunately, as we have no chronicle of Malik Ambar's history and administration, we know very little about the financial administration of this astute and patriotic statesman who kept alive the Nizāms'āhī kingdom for full thirty years. Some of the items of income and expenditure are always common to all states: but some have to be gathered from historical and epigraphical sources. The chief source of income of India in those times were land-revenue, custom duties, local cesses, local duties and tolls, tributes from the *vatandārs* and subordinate states,¹ fines and ransoms for freedom from imprisonment, fees charged on judicial decisions and some occasional taxes. Land-revenue has always been the chief and the most important source of income. In all discussions of kingship in India, land-revenue always figures first.

II. *Land-revenue :*

It need not be said that land revenue was an important source of the Nizāms'āhī state during Malik Ambar's time also. What is important to note is that Malik Ambar paid keen attention to the settlement of land-revenue on a satisfactory basis so that both the state and the people were benefited. Malik Ambar's

land revenue system has been well-known in the history of the Deccan. The chronicles and the writers of official records, judicial decisions and even private letters regarding the settlement of different kinds of land disputes take delight in mentioning Malik Ambar's land-revenue system. "He (Malik Ambar) got the land of the kingdom measured and settled the rates of revenue payment, the boundaries of the different villages and the (land) measures of *cāvaras* and *bighās*. Since then Malik Ambar's settlement continues in that territory".² It shows that even the British Government continued the settlement of Malik Ambar in the early years of its rule which reveals the wise and intelligent work of planned settlement and careful execution. Contemporary documents bear testimony to the above. "There was no fort and no fortification in the Chaul territory; the officer, Habaskhān, used to assemble the local authorities (*Des'mukh*, *Adhikāri*, *Des'kulkarnī*, *S'ete-Mahājan* and *Mokhtasar*) and carry on the administration of the king. In the third year (after the conquest by the Nizāms'āh) in accordance with the (land) settlement in other areas, Malik Ambar's plan of (revenue) payment was introduced. All the fields, gardens and salt-pans of all the villages were surveyed and the amounts to be paid by each fixed. In accordance with it the ryots paid the revenue."³ It was, therefore, not necessary to make an annual survey and calculation of the produce. After paying the stipulated land-revenue, the ryots lived in peace and happiness. The *Zamindār* and the *ryots* lived in cordial co-operation. In order to ascertain the exact land-revenue of the kingdom it was necessary to regulate and regularise the grants. Therefore, Malik Ambar issued orders to the holders of *inām* (free grants) and *mokāsas* to get writs of the grants and *mokāsās* renewed in their favour.⁴ It was thought necessary that even the *ināmdārs* (grant-holders) and the *mokāsdārs* (free land-holders) should be regulated by the system and should not exact anything more than what was due according to the system. Prior to the introduction of this reform in the land-revenue system, payment of land-revenue was regulated on contract or farming.⁵ In the farming system there was no definite mention about the share or quota a tenant had to pay. The revenue system of Malik Ambar had some aspect of a rational settlement, since it was done only for a small number of years. The following is an example; "From

the office of the *Divān*, Headquarter *Parganā* S'hirwal to Lakhmoji and Bālo, (dated 1561 A.D) ryot of town S'hirwal of the said *Parganā* dated *Isane Tisain* and *Tisā Mayā* this agreement is granted, *namely*, that in accordance with what has been said by Malhārjī and Athājī, *Des'a (Kulkarnī)*, that the field near the tank has been lying fallow for a long time *bighsās* 30 ($\frac{1}{4}$ *cāvar*) in order to cultivate the same in the year *salās*, the following settlement is granted to the said persons *namely* :

| In Cash | In Kind |
|---|--|
| Third year, <i>salās</i> | |
| $\frac{1}{4}$ <i>Takā</i> 6 <i>Rukās</i> for Village | Grain $2\frac{1}{2}$ <i>Maunds</i> |
| $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>Takā</i> for town | Grass 26 Bushels |
| <i>Arbā</i> (fourth) year | |
| $\frac{1}{4}$ <i>Takā</i> for village land | Grass 50 Bushels |
| Fifths year ; | |
| $3\frac{1}{4}$ <i>Takās</i> 6 <i>Rukās</i> for Village and town land | Grain $3\frac{1}{2}$ <i>Maunds</i> Grass 75 Bushels |
| Sixth Year : | |
| $2\frac{1}{2}$ <i>Takās</i> for village land | $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>Maund</i> and $3\frac{1}{4}$ <i>Seers</i> ⁶ |
| 2 <i>Takās</i> for town land | Grain 1 <i>Khandī</i> Grass 100 Bushels Cotton $\frac{1}{4}$ <i>Khandī</i> 1 <i>Maund</i> . |

The above settlement does not clearly state whether the land was surveyed or not; nor does it mention the class of the land. Therefore, it is not clear if it was just or heavy. It shows that the agreement was likely to be changed after the expiry of the term. The good features are : no rent was to be taken for the first two years (*Ihide* and *Isane*), rent was to begin with the third year (*Salās*), it was gradually increased and was partly in cash and partly in kind. *Thirdly*, the document shows that the settlement was made with each tenant separately. Malik Ambar's settlement had some more features about it. Malik Ambar got each field measured, got it classified according to the quality of the land, its yield and

fixed the amount to be paid for it. There is a definite mention of the assessment of land settlement by Malik Ambar some time before April, 1610 A.D. It was done sometime after Malik Ambar got rid of Miyā Rājū by defeating and imprisoning him. The latest limit in this matter we are inclined to fix is the year 1607 A.D. The reference records : "Bāji Pātīl and Triambak Pātīl, Mokādam, the ryots, Tāuji Sadāphule and Bhāu Bhorad Vatan Pātīl, Kālbābā and Asu Dhonyā and Bhūjī Telī and all the ryots and Dāji and Godhal Kulkarnī of the said town (*Vāvī* of the said Sangamner *Parganā*) represented to His Majesty that the said place was at first included in the Sangamner *Parganā* and when this *Parganā* was measured by means of chain, the area of the said place was fixed at $54\frac{1}{4}$ *cāvars* and one *bighā*"⁸ That each ryot knew what he had to pay as dues for his land is also indirectly referred to.⁸

Whenever a new land was broken and brought under cultivation, the maximum amount of payment was to be realised after a number of years at concessional rates of payment which gradually increased to the maximum. The number of years and the amount of payment depended upon the quality of the land and the facilities obtaining in the areas for the improvement of cultivation. This reform can be to some extent read in the following documents :⁹

"Rājashri Anāji Datto to the Hon'ble *Des'mukh* and *Des'kulkarnī* and Mokadam Patels and people of *Tarf Rohidkhore, Subā Māval*, dated *Suhūr Tisā Sahain Alaf* (1678 A.D.) regarding assurance (given), you came to village *Lākhedvādī* (and represented) that the area has been the *Vatan* of His Majesty, that in case a settlement of land-revenue was done and the people were given assurance, they would do their work well and be happy. You people represented like that which having been taken into consideration, it was resolved that, as the land-revenue was settled at half of the produce from the year, *Samān*, (1677 A.D.) and last year (*i.e. Samān*) (1677 A.D.) the land was measured in terms of *bighās* and revenue was fixed at half of the produce, the land of low fertility was given (remission) for one year and where the superior land could be measured the revenue was fixed at half of the produce and where the land was of the best kind but

was not cultivated there ; but this did not satisfy the people and you requested for a (regular) land settlement with a view to fix the revenue. It was, therefore, resolved that, as the year was coming to a close and only one month was left over, the revenue demand be fixed at the rate that prevailed in the year (*Sabain*) (1669 ?). It was considered that, in case a *Brāhmaṇ* or *Prabhū* clerk was engaged, he (would not do his work well) on account of laziness. And, (even if he would do his work well), what can he do in a village whose land has been newly broken? How can that poor fellow know what was produced there and what should be the rate of revenue? For this, an assessor for your *Mahāl* has been appointed: you should, therefore, from this day do the work of the assessment of your *Mahāl*. You *Des'mukh*, *Des'kulkarnī*, *Mokdam* and some leading people come together, tour over each village and fix the revenue thus; 'this particular village, so much its revenue, so much its land, so much of it of the first kind, so much of it of the second kind, so much of it of the third kind and so much of the fourth kind; this classification' having been done its produce be estimated in the case of its being well cultivated and, accordingly, the revenue demand be fixed. For this (determination of produce), (people's) evidence be taken and thus the demand be fixed so that, *according to Malik Ambar's method*, so much would be the demand, so much was of the *khārīf* (i.e. rainy season) crop, so many *bighās* produced (so much of) a particular crop. Thus the produce was to be estimated as five or seven farmers would say. In this way, each village and the whole *Tape* be assessed. One whole year has been allotted from this day for this work. Within this time, you tour over the whole *Tape* and the demand on each field be fixed and you should do this very carefully and inform me. I shall then come down there, select three villages of three kinds, one hilly village, one low-land village and one of black soil. I shall get the demands from them examined and test the veracity of the assessment work (by taking evidence) of some people and I shall then compare it with what has been your estimate of the revenue demand from that village. If your estimate has been one and one-fourth times, or one and a half times, or two times (of the previous realization) and

if the same found to be correct after examination, you will be allowed to make realisation accordingly. Even, if it be equal (to previous realisations), the same will be thought proper and a decision will be made accordingly and we shall agree to it. You should give assurance in the *Mahāl* accordingly

Many letters and some words have been missing from this document on account of the ravages of time. A literal translation has been attempted here as far as the extant words could allow. It can be safely said that the meaning has not in any way been distorted. From this document we get a fairly clear idea of Malik Ambar's land settlement, for, Dādāji Konddeo, after him S'ivāji and his ministers, especially, Anāji Datto (who was responsible for much of S'ivāji land settlement) all followed Malik Ambar's system, as has been clearly mentioned in the aforesaid document. The following facts can be gleaned from the same :

(i) The land was first classified into four grades : first, second, third and fourth according to its soil and the nature and yield of crops in it.

(ii) It was measured in terms of *bighās*.

(iii) The dimensions of each field were found out, what crops it produced were noted and how much per year for a number of years.

(iv) The average amount of produce was found out and the revenue demand was based on it at the rate of fifty per cent. The tenants were, however, exempted from the payments of other taxes or cesses. In the document under examination, this has not been stated but it has been mentioned in another document.¹⁰ But Malik Ambar took only *one-third* of the produce as the government share which is evident from other documents quoted in the sequel.

(v) Malik Ambar's principle as regards the actual realisations was that the amount was fixed on the aforesaid basis but it was realised partly in cash and, partly, in kind which was taken in lieu of cash in accordance with the prices then obtaining. This was just and convenient both to the State

and the people! But, rent on garden land was always realised in cash, for the garden produce generally consisted of perishable articles which could not be stocked in government stores.

An account of land assessment of the village *Khor* of the *Parganā Poonā* is available.¹¹ But as it gives a historical account of the same beginning with that of the Bahamanī kingdom, it gives us some idea of Malik Ambar's assessment too. At first, the extent of land and the names of the various parts are mentioned. The first measures are stated in terms of *takā* and *rukā*. It must be remembered that these names were also the names of the currency : *takā* being equal to one fourth of a rupee and *rukā* being equal to one forty-eighth of a *takā* i.e. equal to the *pie* of recent times. Land was classified as agricultural and garden. There must have been waste land, but there is no mention of it throughout the paper.

During the rule of the Bahamanī kings, the village seems to have been assessed as a whole and the value of *one-third* of the produce was to be paid in cash as Government dues, while the details of the assessment are not available at all. Incidentally, it has been mentioned that a quarter *takā* of land was the free holding of the *Pādevār* i.e. the *vatandar-māhār* who used to attend to the duty of the village police.

The dues were fixed in terms of cash payable in one lump sum for the whole village. That for agricultural land was $624\frac{1}{2}$ *takās*, from which one fifth was to be deducted for reasons not given. Probably, it might be the commission of the *Patel*. The rent for garden land was $107\frac{1}{2}$ *takās*. Neither the rates, nor the assessment on each cultivator was fixed. This condition continued for generations and during all the political changes. From the references to the extent of land, it is clear that, while $\frac{1}{4}$ *takā* of land was the free holding of the *Pādevār*, 3 *rukās* of land were government land, 8 *rukās* were garden land, 4 *takās* and 7 *rukās* were assessed as agricultural land. The *Pādevār's* land was also agricultural land. It has been definitely mentioned that in the beginning there were no demarcations to indicate separate fields or the limits of the village land. The forests made these limits. Cattle used to graze there as well as agricultural operations—were also carried on for which a

fixed amount was assessed. Later on, all these demarcations were made. One *takā* of land was equal to 4 *cāvars*, while one *cavar* was equal to 12 *rukās*. Thus one *rukā* of land came to be equal to 10 *bighās*.

There is one assessment given which is clearly Malik Ambar's assessment, but the details of this are lacking. So, it is difficult to make out a full idea of Malik Ambar's land assessment from this paper. The whole assessment was fixed at 133 *hons* in the time of Haibatkhān and Malik Ambar and during the kingship of Murtazā Ali Nizāms'ah. Extra cesses could be imposed. Malik Ambar had imposed a tax for the purpose of bringing from Sholāpur the well-known cannon, "Muluk-Māidān", from Daulatābād. When S'āhji went over to the Ādils'āh, he had 60 *hons* assigned to him from this village as his jāgir. So, this makes it clear that a fixed amount was assigned to each Jāgirdār from each of the villages given to him as his jāgir.

A third assessment called Nizāms'āhī is also given and it is clear that this must also be Malik Ambar's. One feature of this assessment was that as the assessed cash amount could not be easily collected, it was changed into kind, i.e. grain and fodder.

The rate fixed was thirteen and a half *maunds* for every six *rukās* (*Sasagaṇī*). The amount of grain due at this rate for 283 *rukās* (i.e. 5 *takās* 43 *rukās*) comes to a little less than the amount mentioned in the paper, which is 29 *khandīs* 9 *maunds* and 9 *seers*. To this, remuneration for measuring grain at the rate of 10 *seers* per *khandī* has to be added. This remuneration as given is 18 *maunds* 6½ *seers* which is very nearly correct. The total grain assessment as given is 30 *khandīs* 7 *maunds* 15½ *seers* which somewhat exceeds the exact mathematical calculation. From this assessment grains on the Pādevār's land, i.e. 1½ *khandīs* and 14 *seers* has to be deducted.¹² The amount left over thus is 29 *khandīs* 2 *maunds* 3¼ *seers*. From this, measuring remuneration, 17 *maunds* 10¼ *seers* has to be deducted. The net assessment in grain comes to 28 *khandīs* 4 *maunds* 9 *seers*.

Fodder (a part of the land-rent) was fixed at 5990 bundles, while 400 bundles were to be given as cess out of the total

(6390 bundles), 250 were given to the *Pāḍewār* as a part of his free-ship. So, Government was to take 6140 bundles. *Thirdly*, the village was to give to the Government $1\frac{3}{4}$ *maund* of *ghee*. *Fourthly*, it was to give one blanket, two goats and half a piece of *khāḍī*.¹³ All this seems to have been realised in the form of grain to the amount of one *maund*. Similarly, charges for the dress (of the king) were realised in the form of grain to the extent of three-fourth of a *maund*.

This account is followed by another account of a regular assessment which also has been called *Nizāms'āhī*. As Malik Ambar was alive till the middle of the summer of 1626 A.D., it must be concluded that his must be the second settlement made by him, the reference to whom has been, probably, wrongly made in the second account given above. In this also, the assessment seems to be in terms of grain and other articles. The rate has been mentioned both in terms of cash and in kind. The items of assessment are the same, namely:

| | | |
|----------------------------|-----|-----------------------------|
| <i>Palposī-kharch Patī</i> | ... | $2\frac{8}{8}$ <i>hons</i> |
| Sundry (cesses) | ... | $1\frac{7}{8}$ <i>hons</i> |
| Land rent | ... | $1\frac{7}{8}$ <i>hons</i> |
| Fodder | ... | $1/8$ <i>hons</i> |
| <i>Ghee</i> | ... | $1/8$ <i>hons</i> |
| | | <hr/> |
| Total | ... | $5\frac{10}{8}$ <i>hons</i> |

for every six *rukās*. As the agricultural land was 283 *rukās* the total sum on account of assesment on agricultural land came to $275\frac{10}{8}$ *hons*. The garden land was 8 *rukās*, the assesment on it was:

| | | |
|--------------------------------------|-----|-----------------------------|
| $107\frac{1}{2}$ <i>takās</i> , i.e. | ... | $10\frac{3}{4}$ <i>hons</i> |
| <i>Pāposī</i> | ... | $3\frac{1}{2}$ <i>hons</i> |
| <i>Ghee</i> | ... | $2\frac{3}{2}$ <i>hons</i> |
| | | <hr/> |
| Total | ... | $16\frac{1}{2}$ <i>hons</i> |

The further account shows that the above account falls short of the correct figure by $\frac{1}{8}$ of a *hon*. Roughly, all the assesment given above comes to slightly more : one *hon* per *rukā*, i.e. a little more than one *takā* (i.e., 4 annas) per *bighā*.

This account is followed by a fifth account, which is also *Nizāms'āhī*. This also must be the one made by Malik Ambar. The distribution of the different cesses and taxes on land is as shown hereunder :

Cash Realisation:

| | | |
|--------------------------------|-----|--------------------------|
| From Agricultural land | ... | 499 $\frac{5}{2}$ takās |
| Less (on account of remission) | ... | 37 $\frac{1}{2}$ takās |
| | | <hr/> |
| | | 461 $\frac{11}{2}$ takās |
| Cash from garden land | ... | 107 $\frac{1}{2}$ takās |
| | | <hr/> |
| Total | ... | 569 $\frac{5}{2}$ takās |

The various cesses:

| | | |
|-----------------------|-----|--|
| <i>Sarades'mukhī</i> | ... | 4 takās |
| <i>Pahnām</i> (dress) | ... | 17 $\frac{3}{4}$ takās 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ rukās |
| Goat cess | ... | 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ takās |
| Ghee cess | ... | 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ takās 6 rukās |

Deficit charges on 70 *hons* (130 *hons* first fixed less 60 *hons* granted to the *Jagirdār*) at $\frac{3}{4}$ of a *takā* 6 *rukās* per *hon*.

... 61 $\frac{1}{2}$

Total ... 95 $\frac{1}{4}$ takās 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ rukās

Extra cesses

| | | |
|--|-----|--------------------------------|
| Remuneration to the <i>Pādevār</i> for 12 months 11 days at the rate of 5 <i>takās</i> per month | ... | 61 $\frac{3}{4}$ takās 4 rukās |
| <i>Māng</i> | ... | 1 takā |
| <i>Balute's</i> remission | ... | 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ takās |
| <i>The Maulanā</i> | ... | 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ takās |
| The Carpenter | ... | 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ takās |
| The Cobbler | ... | 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ takās |
| The Blacksmith | ... | 1 takā |
| Maintenance of a number of horsemen | ... | 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ takās |
| <i>The Kamāvisdār</i> | ... | 65 takās |

Deficit charges on three *hons*. ($2\frac{1}{2}$ *hons*
on account of *selbail* and $\frac{1}{2}$ of a *hon*
on account of *Sarāfī* (goldsmith))... $2\frac{1}{2}$ *takās* 6 *rukās*

Total ... $142\frac{3}{4}$ *takās* 10 *rukās*

To the above have to be added 73 *hons* (130 *hons*-60 *hons* + $\frac{1}{2}$ a *hon* + $2\frac{1}{2}$ *hons*) as already shown under the second settlement, 77 *hons* on account of grain, $6\frac{1}{3}\frac{3}{2}$ *hons* on account of fodder, $3\frac{1}{2}$ *hons* on account of *ghee* cess, and $6\frac{1}{3}\frac{1}{2}$ *hons* on account of things paid in the third. The grand total comes to $371\frac{1}{3}$ *hons*, out of which have to be deducted:

| | | |
|-----------------------------------|-----|--|
| On account of <i>Selbail</i> | ... | $2\frac{1}{2}$ <i>hons</i> |
| <i>Sarāfī patī</i> | ... | $\frac{1}{2}$ a <i>hon</i> |
| On account of extra cesses | ... | $14\frac{8}{2}$ <i>hons</i> |
| On account of things paid in kind | ... | $1\frac{1}{2}$ <i>hons</i> |
| Total | ... | <u>$18\frac{15}{10}$ <i>hons</i>¹⁴</u> |

The net realisations to be made is shown as 292 *hons* and a few odds.

Even, if we take the value of gross realisations, namely, 311 *hons*, the incidence per *bighā* is only $4\frac{1}{4}$ *amūs*, i.e. one *takū* and three *rukās*, which was paid partly in cash and partly in kind. The garden dues were to be paid in cash.

The above agrees with the account given in the *91-Qalamī-Bakhar*. This gives an account of the land settlement done by Dādāji Konddeo (on the lines of Malik Ambar) after his appointment as the agent of S'āhjī in his *jāgir* in the proximity of Poonā Supā. This is, of course in connection with the land newly brought under cultivation:

| | | |
|--------------|-----|---|
| First year | ... | 1 <i>rukā</i> per <i>bighā</i> |
| Second year | ... | 3 <i>rukās</i> per <i>bighā</i> |
| Third year | ... | 6 <i>rukās</i> per <i>bighā</i> |
| Fourth year | ... | 9 <i>rukās</i> per <i>bighā</i> |
| Fifth year | ... | $\frac{1}{4}$ <i>rupee</i> per <i>bighā</i> |
| Sixth year | ... | $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>rupee</i> per <i>bighā</i> |
| Seventh year | ... | One <i>rupee</i> per <i>bighā</i> |
| Eight year | ... | Malik Ambar's assessment ¹⁵ |

What Malik Ambar's assessment was has not been mentioned here. From the account already given, it seems that Dadaji Konddeo's assessment has been very much heavier than that of Malik Ambar, though the underlying principles of assessment might have been the same.

Having studied the land revenue system of Malik Ambar, on the basis of contemporary Marāthī documents, the remarks and statements made by Dr. Jogindra Nāth Chowdhari in his monograph¹⁶ call for critical analysis and comment. They may be examined *seriatum* as follows :

"The system which he introduced", observes the learned scholar, "was a new one, but based primarily on the system introduced into Northern India and in some portions of Gujrāt¹⁷ and Khāndesh by the Great Moghal financier, Rājā Toder Mal". In support of this observation, the learned historian does not cite any historical evidence, direct or circumstantial. In the absence of positive and corroborative evidence, one is inclined to feel that Malik Ambar had nothing to do with the land-revenue system of Rājā Todar Mal. On the other hand, Malik Ambar framed and planned his own system of land-revenue quite independently. The land-revenue system of Malik Ambar was the product of his practical genius and wisdom.

Secondly with regard to the character of Malik Ambar's survey it is stated, "areas were fixed not by measuring but by a glance estimate or *nazar pāhaṇī*".¹⁸ In view of the fact mentioned above that elaborate and detailed land surveys were conducted by means of actual measurements, the statement stands fully exploded and needs no further comment.

Thirdly, "The one point which may be open to criticism is that as the settlement was made with the village or *Pātīl* (who was made hereditary) instead of individual cultivators, it left room for the former to use his power and influence to his own advantage at the cost of the latter" is unwarranted.¹⁹ While giving a systematic exposition of the land-revenue system of Malik Ambar, it has been already mentioned that the settlement was made with each cultivator.²⁰ The last statement that "the management was entrusted to *Brahmin* agents but they had to work under the supervision of *Muhammadan* officers, who might

put a stop to the high-handedness, if any, of the *Brahmin* agents"²¹ is contradicted by a study of contemporary Marāthi documents which reveal that there were *Hindu* as well as *Muslim* officers who carried on similar duties.²²

Reasons for these unfortunate errors in the above cited statements of Dr. Jogindra Nath Chowdhari are not far to seek. His study of Malik Ambar's land-revenue system was based not on the examination of the contemporary Marāthi documents but on the secondary evidence of Gazetteers prepared for the guidance of the British Officers in the beginning of British rule in India.

The other sources of the income mentioned from place to place in the documents of Malik Ambar's time are, customs, cesses, duties and tolls, tributes from the *vatandārs*, ransom for obtaining freedom from imprisonment, and fines for offences against Government and people, fees charged on judicial decisions, some occasional taxes as expedition taxes (*Mohīmpatī* or *Kharch*),²³ tax for a special purpose (e.g. for the expenses to bring the *Muluk-i-Maidān* cannon from Daulatābād to Sholāpur).

Gardening also was similarly encouraged by a liberal assessment. An assurance issued from *Tape Rohidā* to the *Des'mukhs*, *Mokadams*, *S'ete-Mahājans* Ryots, other persons and *balutes* of *Tarf Bhor* says: "You people approached his honour and stated that you wanted to plant new trees of mangoes, tamarinds, pomegranates, lemons, etc. and out of every ten trees, one should be given as *Inām* (i.e. free of assessment) and the rest nine be assessed on the basis of one-third (of the produce) to be taken by Government and the rest (two-thirds) to be taken by the people. Your request has been taken into consideration and granted, *namely*, that you are to pay to Government one-third of the produce while the rest (two-thirds) are to be taken by you people. Konhoji *Des'mukh* has the *Mokadamship* of village Kārī, and his ancestors planted trees there, which are granted to the said *Des'mukh* as *Inām* (i.e. free from the payment of assessment). In place other than Kārī, the aforesaid assurance applies. So shake off all doubts and suspicions, plant trees and be happy. This assurance is given. Besides, agriculture at the village Amboda and privileges due to the *Des'mukhship*

are granted. The rest of the villages in the *Tarf* are to enjoy the aforesaid assurance."²⁴

III. Other sources of revenue :

It is quite apparent that Malik Ambar liberally encouraged gardening also. Reference to the custom duties between one state and another is not available in the *Nizāmsāhī* records. There is reference to custom duties levied by the Moghuls.²⁵ But it is a well-known fact that these duties obtained at that time in India. Even people passing through a state had to pay a duty.²⁶ These duties were a good source of income.

It may be noted that "Malik Ambar proceeded to the frontiers of the Kutubulmulk to receive the annual payment for the army, which was now two years in arrears."²⁷

It is mentioned also that "Khān-e-Khānān was suspected to pay one-third of the total collection of revenue to Malik Ambar."²⁸

Thus, it can be concluded that Malik Ambar continued to get money not only from the Kutbs'āh, but also from the Moghul commander of the Deccan in order to escape from his attacks. Even the Ādils'āh had to keep him in good humour²⁹ and render him help for many years before the two fell out and drew their swords.

Amongst the occasional taxes fall the expedition tax, *Sinhastapātī*³⁰ and *Gair-mahasool*³¹ (extra tax,) etc.

The *vatandārs* had to pay a present or (levy) to the Government on succeeding to the *vatandārship*.³²

Not only the imposition and recovery of fines,³³ but also ransom for freedom from prison occur in contemporary documents.³⁴

It is, thus, clear that these sources also formed a part of the Government income. Unhappily, the number of documents relating to Malik Ambar's times are not readily available and, therefore references cannot be sufficiently multiplied.

IV. Land Measures:

The following land measure obtained during Malik Ambar's times :

One land measures has been given by Sabhāsad in his *Bahkar*³⁵. It is as follows :

A cubit=14 *Tasūs* (the length made by the joint breadth of the middle finger and that next to it).

3 cubits and 5 fists=1 *Kāthī* (i.e. 1 pole).

5 cubits and 5 fists=82 *Tasūs*.

20 Poles × 20 poles=One *Bighā*.

120 *Bighās*=One *Cāvar*.

According to this calculation, one fist= $2\frac{1}{2}$ *Tasūs*, and one acre is roughly equal to $1\frac{1}{2}$ *bighās*. Another table is available, as follows:³⁶

5 cubits and 5 fists=82 *Tasūs*.

22 poles × 22 poles (the pole being kept flat on the ground) =1 *Bighā*.

24 poles × 24 poles (the pole being kept in the hand while measuring)=1 *Bighā*.

In this case, the dimension of a *bighā* is greater than that given by Sabhāsad. It is difficult to say why there were different measures in the land settlement of Anjanvel, the account of which was prepared in the year 1824 A.D. Probably, that area might have had a measurement different from that of the plateau area. Sabhāsad was better expected to know the land measures, for he was a *subhedār* during S'ivāji's regime and served under him. This is what is generally given in the general description: 20 poles made one *pānd* (पाण्ड) and 20 *pānds* made one *bighā*.

Another measure is *nitan* (निताण).³⁷ One *cāvar* has been shown to be equal to 13 *nitan*s 3 *bighās*.³⁸ So, one *nitan* comes to be equal to 9 *bighās*.

Other kinds of land measures are *Takā* and *Rukā*. It is mentioned that $1\frac{1}{2}$ *Takās*=1 *Takā* and 24 *Rukās*.³⁹ So, 1 *Takā* =48 *Rukās*. From another document we find that 1 *Takā* = 4 *Cāvars*, 1 *Cāvar* = 12 *Rukas*, 1 *Rukā* = 10 *Bighās*. We also

find that 1 *Takā* = 48 *Rukās*.⁴⁰ The measures, when made with the bamboo pole, have been mentioned as *S'arayni* measure or *Ilāhī* measure. The latter was the one which was introduced by Raja Todarmal Akbar's Minister who was responsible for the land settlement in the Moghul empire and indicates the placing of the stick flat on the ground. The former indicated the direction of the pole in the way of a darted arrow, i.e. the distant end touching the ground with the nearer end in the hand, i.e., somewhat raised up. It is clear that the length of the pole in the two cannot be the same.

Besides the above ways of measuring land, there were two more, one by the rope and the other by the chain. *Dorī* (rope) was equal to one *Cāvar*.⁴¹ The chain measure was introduced in the Deccan during the time of Aurangzeb and has been referred to by the word "*Zanzīr*". The use of rope for measurement did obtain in the time of Malik Ambar, but it is manifest that it could not be as reliable as the pole; for a rope is subject to contraction and expansion and breakages; but, as a rope could be sufficiently long, it saved time in surveying.

V. Cesses, Tolls, Duties and Taxes :

The names of the cesses, tolls, duties and tax levied in Mahārāstra in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and, therefore, by the Government of Malik Ambar are very many. *Mahsool*, *Nakhtayātī*, *Vethī-Begārī*, *Farmayāsī* and *Pāiposī* are the different categories of taxes and cesses in a contemporary document.⁴²

Sale and purchase tax on horses, oxen, she-buffaloes and grain occurs elsewhere.⁴³ A very comprehensive list is to be found in the following documents of S.C.S.-IX: (*Q.B.I.S.M.*-XXIV, 4).

Patī Pāiposī : 9 and 12

Rākh Nuksānpatī : 9.

Sādilwar-patī : 9.

Nāzirpatī : 9 and 19.

Des' mukhpatī : 9.

Gadcāvani : 11, 19 and 36

- Sarnāzīrpatī* : 19.
Cloth Duty : 40.
Bokhārtakā : 11, 19 and 36.
Mīrās-dārpātī : 43.
Kāpurpāik : 36.
Sarāfpātī : 19.
Varhādtakā : 12, 19 and 51.
Nīputrika : 21.
Māgpatī : 11.
Ghartakā : 69.
Meethtakā : 69.
Gairmahsool : 21.
Paṇ-takā : 22.
Kotwālī : 21.
Nafar-takā : 21.
Gulge-mhas'ī : 19.
 (probably *Khulge-mhas'ī*)

Besides the above, there were some more cesses and duties, which can be gleaned out from other documents. They have been classified, so far as the available documents could allow us to do so.⁴⁴

- Patī Pāiposī* (*S.C.S.* IX, 9, 16, and 36)—a cess levied in kind from the *Ghee*-makers.
Rāknuksānpatī (*S.C.S.* IX, 9,)—a depreciation cess.
Sādīhwārpatī (*S.C.S.*—IX, 9, 43) a cess for social functions.
Nāzīrpatī (*S.C.S.*—IX, 9) a cess realised to meet the expenses of the office of the *Nāzīr*. -
Des'mukhpatī (*S.C.S.*—IX, 9) a cess, especially realised by the *Des'nukhs*, probably, for festive occasions.
Mīrās-dārpātī (*S.C.S.*—IX, 43)—a cess realised from the *Mīrās-dārs* on special occasions.
 Cloth duty (*S.C.S.*—IX, 43).
Sarnāzīrpatī (*S.C.S.*—IX, 36) a cess realised to meet the office of the *Nāzīr* (of *Nāzīrpatī*).
Gadcāvanī (*S.C.S.*—IX, 11, 19, 36) a cess realised for the repairs of fortifications.
Bokhārtakā (*S.C.S.*—IX, 11, 19, 36) literally, a cess on head loads; perhaps, it signifies an octroi duty.

- Kāpurpaik* (S.C.S.—IX, 36) cannot be identified.
- Sarāfpaiī* (S.C.S.—IX, 19) a cess levied on bankers and dealers in gold and silver.
- Varādtakā* (S.C.S. IX, 12, 19, 51) a cess levied on marriage parties.
- Niputrika* (S.C.S.—IX, 21) succession tax levied on one who succeeded to the property of person leaving no son behind him.
- Māg-Jakāt* (S.C.S. IX, 11) a cess levied on weavers on the basis of looms.
- Ghartakā* (S.C.S.—IX, 69) a house tax realised from shopkeepers.
- Meethtakā* (S.C.S.—IX, 99)—Salt-tax.
- Kotvāli* (S.C.S.—IX, 21) a cess levied on the people for the expenses of the office of a police officer.
- Gair Mahasool* (S.C.S.—IX, 21) Extra cess.
- Vantakā* (S.C.S.—IX, 58)—a cess on forest produce.
- Nafartakā* (S.C.S.—IX, 21). This seems to be a cess realised for payment of servants.
- Milch Buffalo tax (S.C.S.—IX, 19).
- Duty on the sale of corn (S.C.S.—IX, 19).
- Kārūk* (S.C.S.—IX, 19). This seems to be a tax realised from artisans.
- Singautī* (S.C.S.—IX, 19) cess on the sale of cattle.
- Overland transit duty (S.C.S.—VII, 1008, S.C.S.—IX, 40).
- Mohīmpatī* (S.C.S.—III, 527) a cess levied to meet the expenses of an expedition.⁴⁵
- Ināmpatī* (S.C.S.—II, 30) a cess levied to bestow a grant on some one.
- Duhukpatī* (M.I.S. XX, 174). This seems to be a milk cess.
- Kabulātipatī* (S.C.S.—II, 152) a cess levied on an agreement made between two persons.
- Jangpatī* (S.C.S.—III, 527) same as *Mohīmpatī*.⁴⁶
- Tejīpatī* (S.C.S.—III, 527) seems to be cess on the rise of prices of commodities.
- There are some cesses and duties that seem to be limited to towns or villages.

Urban Cesses and Duties

Octroi duties (*Jakāt*) (*S.C.S.—IX,40; S.L., 15*).

Thalmod or (*Nikālu*) (Export duty) (*S.C.S.—VIII,7*)

Thal-Bharit or *Paisalu* (Import duty) (*S.C.S.—VIII,7*).

Bāt Capāi—a cess for stamping weights with a view to assure their correctness. (*S.C.S.—III,144,148 and 151*).

Khot-Jakāt—a cess on *vatandārs* of the Konkan. (*S.C.S.—II, 245*).

Mejwānī—Dinner tax. (see S.N. Sen, Administrative system of the Marathas 84, edition of 1925) (*S.C.S.—II, 213*)

Kolīpatī—a cess levied on fisherman. (*Q.B.I.S.M. II-1-4, Art 1*).

Jakātī Cauthare (*S.C.S.—II, 197*) a cess levied on those shop-keepers who used raised platforms.

Nakhtayātī-patī (*S.C.S.—II, 148*) a cess for permission to mint coins.

Bhetī (*S.C.S.—II, 148*) presents given to officers or king. Reference for them can be especially made to *S.C.S.—II, 151, 207, 213, 220, 230, 245, 304 and 316*.

Sinhastapatī (*S.C.S.—II, 289*) A pilgrim tax levied at Nāsik in the (*Sinhasta*) year.

There were other duties that were more generally confined to villages; these are.

Selbail *S.C.S.—II, 170*—a duty on transport of cattle.

Bel-katī (*S.C.S.—III, 144,162*) a tax levied at the commencement of the harvest.

Pādwārī (*Marāthī Daftar I, 38,; S.C.S.—I, 31*) a cess realised for the payment of the services of a hereditary watchman of a village, generally 'Mahār' by caste.

Kharchpatī (*S.C.S.—III, 109,146*) a cess realised from the villagers to meet the expenses of officers on their visit to a village.

Thūnmasūl cannot be identified. (*S.C.S.—II, 304, 316*).

Allierān—a cess for grazing animals in a meadow. (*S.C.S.—II, 304;*)

Kāthavadā (*Kāthavatā*) a cess realised from those who prepared mats out of coconut fibres. (*S.C.S.—II, 317*).

Bambar-Bhet perhaps, a cess to meet the expenses of the officer on tour. (S.C.S.—II,304).

Vanpatī (Bansārā) a cess on forest produce. (S.C.S.—II,316).

Sundar-Thākur : a cess realised for the expenses of a temple. (S.C.S. III, 151).

Bab-Takal: cannot be identified. (S.C.S. II, 151).

Tārapatī (S.C.S.—III, 549.) a cess levied to meet the expenses of the office of a Tāraf.

Sardes mulchipatī or *Sarnādgaudā* (S.C.S.,—III,549).

Sādīhwārpātī (see *supra*).

Kanupatī (S.C.S.—IX, 46) a cess to meet the expenses of officers deputed to conduct land-revenue survey.

Ajājeetpatī (S.C.S.—IX, 46) a cess for appointment of a 'Nāik' by an officer.

Bhokarpatī (S.C.S.—III, 620,621) a cess on Bhokar fruits.

Ulfepatī (S.C.S.—III, 624) a cess for feeding an officer on tour usually in kind.

Silottarī (S.C.S.—IX, p.38) a cess taken by a farmer from the leasee. In origin, it seems to be a share in the remains of grain ears left in the field, after harvesting, generally collected by people in general. The practice of collecting remains of gram ears obtained in ancient times.

There were some cesses and duties that were common to both towns and villages; some of these are:

Mohatarfā—a tax on trades and occupations.

Jakāt-Vikrī := sale duty.

Cap-patī—duty for stamping cloth.

Farmāyas'ī : Fruits, Vegetables, etc. furnished on occasions to Rājās and public officers, on the authority of their order upon the villages; any petty article or trifling work exacted from the ryots by Government or public officer, (moleswoth)*

Humāyūnpatī (According to Dr. S.N. Sen, it is a tax levied for celebrating royal birthday) and others:

Besides the above-mentioned taxes and cesses, we come

* Dr. S.N. Sen : Administrative system of the Marathas, 83, (1925).

across taxes on religious communities such as *Idapati*⁴⁷ and *Jakāti-Hinduwānī*.⁴⁸ It cannot be still ascertained with any degree of certainty whether the latter tax was closely identical with the well-known poll-tax, namely, *Zaziyā*, levied on the Hindus of the contemporary times in the *Nizāms'āhī* territory.

VI. Some observations on the Tax-structure:

The list may seem to be alarmingly high but in this connection some points have to be remembered. *Firstly*, the documents show convincingly that all the cesses and duties did not obtain everywhere. Some obtained in some places, while others obtained in other places. *Secondly* their rates also varied from place to place. *Thirdly*, the meanings of all are not clear; but evidently many of them were of the local type and were the sources of income of the *vatandārs*. Some of them, though Central, were partly or wholly assigned to the *vatandārs* as sources of their maintenance. *Fourthly*, they were generally very low, as has been shown in the discussion of the sources of income of the *vatandārs*. Had the taxes, cesses, duties and tolls been oppressive, the country could not have prospered and many contemporaries would not have expressed their satisfaction at the administration of Malik Ambar.

The discussion may be concluded with the remarks of W.H. Moreland, "The first definite land-mark in the Agrarian history of this portion of the country is the system of assessment introduced by Malik Ambar in Ahmadnagar, at the time when he was struggling to maintain the independence of part of that kingdom against Jahāngīr".⁴⁹

He has professedly declared that the Agrarian System of the Marāthās lay outside the purview of his written essay on the topic (p. 187) and also maintained that he had encountered difficulties in obtaining adequate and relevant historical materials for the depiction of the complete and clear picture of the Revenue System of the Deccan, the precise characteristics of which could not be fully known by him for want of 'positive evidence' on the point (p. 186). In the light of new Marāthī historical materials unearthed by recent scholars his remarks, namely, "his (Malik Ambar's) methods may have died with

him but, in any case they could scarcely have survived the calamities of the next ten years".⁵⁰ are hardly tenable in the perspective of the subsequent currents of history.

References and notes:

1. The first one has been called 'Sernī' and the latter one 'Nālbadha' *I.A. L.*, 282 (1921). This has been referred to as 'Nālbandha' in the History of S'ivāji.
2. The *Sedgāonkar Balchar* (written in the 3rd quarter of the last century.), 12.
3. *Q B.I.S.M.-XXVIII-344,1.*
4. *Ibid.*, Document no. 5, dated the 30th Sept., 1618 A.D.; *The Historical Persian Documents*, Pt. I, and *Historical Miscellaneous Documents*, Vol. I (*B.I.S.M.*) and document no. 675 of *S.C.S.-IV*, dated the 31st May, 1617 A.D.
5. *S.C.S.-V*, Art. 929; the Annual Proceedings of *B.I.S.M.* for S'ake 1839, p. 320. The administrative arrangement of the Anjanyel Tāluka is given here. At the very outset, it is mentioned that the population in the beginning of the Ādils'āhī administration was very sparse. Therefore, the *Pātīl* for each village was appointed and for each *Mahāl*, there were established *Des'mukh*, *Sardeshmukh* *Des'kulkarnī* and village *Kulkarnī* and *Khot* for each village; people were habilitated in each village, assurances (for security of life and property) were guaranteed to them. A rough estimate of the produce was made by guess and a sixth part of the produce of agriculture and garden land was taken as a royal share; at that time the fields were not measured in terms of *bighās*, the assessment was made by observation and guess; out of that the *Inām* expenses etc. were deducted and the balance was deposited in the State treasury
6. The print, as it stands, reads a *Khandi*, but reasonably it ought to be a *maund* only.
7. *S.C.S.-III*, 75-76, dated the 21st April, 1610 A.D.
8. *Ibid.*, 77-78, dated the 23rd May, 1618 A.D.
9. *M.I.S.-XV*, Art. 340, dated 1678 A.D.
10. *S.C.S.-IV*, Art. 687, dated the 23rd June, 1676 A.D.
11. *S.C.S.-VII*, 108-114, dated 1689 A.D.
12. This is too short of the mathematical calculation by one *seer*.
13. Handspun cloth.
14. In the paper, this has been increased by $\frac{1}{6}$ *Hon*. It must be a mistake.
15. *9I-Q.B.*, Art. 21, 40. It seems that it was incorrectly read or wrongly interpreted by the person who prepared the '*Tarikh-i-Shivāji*', a persian translation of the same. In this translation, the above has been given thus: "Satisfying the *Māvāls*, Dādājīpant said to have come and

settled in these *parganās*". They have begged for deeds of agreement and *Pattās*. Dādājipant gave them a written agreement to the effect that they would pay as rent per *bighā* one rupee in the first year, rupees three in the second, rupees six in the third year, rupees nine in the fourth, rupees ten in the fifth, rupees twenty in the sixth, the same as other tenants did in the seventh and the rate assessed by Malik Ambar in the eighth. (42-43, Wakaskar's edition.). This account is quoted by Dr. Bālkrishṇa in his '*S'ivājī, the Great*', (108, Vol. II, Pt. 2.) and he has put the last, *i.e.*, eighth year's (*i.e.*, Malik Ambar's) assessment at rupees thirty per *bighā*, on what authority we do not know. Had Dr. Balkrishna gone through the other documents, he would have found that rupees thirty could not be earned in those times from the produce of one *bighā*. The general prevailing rate fifty years later was two *maunds* per rupee. If we take one-third as the government due, rupees ninety have to be earned from the sale of the produce, which, therefore, must be some 200 *maunds* per *bighā*, when calculated the lowest rate that might have generally obtained at that time. The mistake of the person who translated the *Sāne* edition of the *91-Qalami Bahkar* occurred on account of the fact in Marāthī of those times it was customary to write most common words in accepted abbreviations: *rukā* has been very generally written as *rum* which is also the short form for *rupaya*. The Persian translator of the eighteenth century mistook it to be *rupaya* and interpreted the short term of *rukā* accordingly. So, the mistake seems to have crept in. What is, however, surprising is that learned scholars of this century took the statement as it was in the Persian translation and put that down in their English discussions and translations without any verification. But a close scrutiny would have revealed the mistake.

16. Jogindra Nath Choudhury: *Malik Ambar*.
17. *Ibid.*, 163.
18. *Ibid.*, 165.
19. *Ibid.*, 169.
20. S.C.S.-III, Art. 470.
21. Jogindra Nāth Chowdhari, *op. cit.*, 170.
20. S.C.S.-I, II, & III.
23. S.C.S.-VII, Art II not only mentions that an expedition tax was realised in 1624-25 A.D., but it pointedly mentions that all the villages of the said *parganā* and also the *vatandārs* had to pay the amounts mentioned in detail. The villages were to pay 5000 *Hons* and the *vatandārs* 300 *Hons*. The total amount, thus, was 5300 *Hons*.
24. M.I.S.-XV, Art. 330 (dated July, 1619 A.D.).
25. E.F.I.-III, 178.
26. Q.B.I.S.M.-XI-1, 10. (M.A.D.R.).
27. E.D.-VI, 178; *Documentos Remetidos da India*, No. 1115, dated Feb 20, 1619 A.D.
28. F.A. (Q.B.I.S.M.-XX-2,4, S.C.V.S.-III).
29. It has been stated by the contemporary Portuguese that Ādils'āh paid for the defence of Malik Ambar's territory against the Moghuls,

(*Documentos Remetidos da India*, No. 1115, dated the 20th Feb., 1619 A.D.).

30. S.C.S.-VII, Art. 109.
31. *Ibid.*, Art. 289.
32. S.C.S.-III, Art. 469, 576; *M.I.S.*, XVI, Art. 8.
33. S.C.S.-III, Art. 622; Annual Proceedings of *B.I.S.M.*, S'aka 1834, 139.
34. S.C.S.-III, Art. 469.
35. *Sane*; Sabhasad Bakhar, 29; (1923).
36. Annual Proceedings of *B.I.S.M.* for S'aka 1835 (1913 A.D.) 324.
37. S.C.S.-IV, Art. 731, dated the 7th Nov., 1624 A.D.
38. *Ibid.*
39. *Marāthi Daftar, Rumāl* III, Art. 15 (P. 38.).
40. S.C.S.-VII, Art. 67, 109. *Takā* and *Rukā* were monetary measures also, and the numerical relationship between them was the same, 6 *Rukās* either in money or in land made one *Sasgani* or *Sāni* (S.C.S.-II, 128; S.C.S.-VII; 113, and S.C.S.-IX, 4).
41. S.C.S.-II, Art. 99; S.C.S.-IX, 109.
42. *Q.B.I.S.M.*-II, 1-4, Art. 1.
43. *M.I.S.*-XV, Art. 412 & 414.
44. *Rāj-Vyavahār-Kos'a* (S.C.P., 171)
45. Probably a tax levied to meet the expenses of War.
46. Annual Proceedings of *B.I.S.M.*, S'aka 1835, also.
47. S.C.S.-IX, 24.
48. *Ibid.*, 29.
49. *The Agrarian System of Moslem India*, 182.
50. *Ibid.*, 183.

Defence Arrangements

1. The Military Administration

The Military administration was formulated, as it has always been and is, even now, in spite of peace talks, both from the view-point of defence and offence, that is, conquest. In fact, an offensive policy is not only necessary from the view-point of conquest, addition of wealth and sources, but was and to some extent is a counterpart of defence. One, who, could not take the offensive in those times, could not conduct the work of defence. *Neighbours have the tendency to be natural enemies normally.* They are always at war and indulge in quarrels on account of various reasons, and they always cast a covetous eye upon territories of each other. Therefore, in the matter of military arrangement, both view-points had to be recognised and borne in mind. In those days, army, artillery, forts and fortifications formed the basis of defence and offence. In the cases of countries having a sea-coast, navy also obtained. These were the four organs of defence-cum-offence in those times.

The army was always of two kinds in those times : infantry and cavalry. On account of swift movement, the cavalry was always thought to be more important than the infantry, and, on account of peculiar mode of fighting, both for offensive and defensive, the cavalry became of greater importance than infantry. What came to be known as guerrilla warfare had developed in Mahārāstra much before S'ivājī and Malik Ambar. Therefore, the Marāthā light horse had become of noteworthy importance there. For the capture of forts and fortifications,

infantry was absolutely necessary. Therefore, the 'Has'am' (infantry) was indispensable. The Nizām'sāhī state was not so hilly as the plateau portion of S'ivāji's Kingdom; all the same, most of the important hilly places had forts or fortifications; some of them as Junnar and Daulatābād had been thought of as impregnable. Besides, there were many and very strong ground forts, of which Ahmadnagar itself was an example. The arrangement for their defence was, on the whole, upto date according to the contemporary conditions and technique; it was consequently possible to beat off repeated attacks of the invaders for a fairly long time. The Nizāms'āhī state had some notable coast-line in the beginning; but, gradually, it was lost to the Ādi's'āhī state and Moghul empire. As a consequence, its Navy was not of much significance.

Under the control of Malik Ambar, there was a Commander-in-Chief, named Siddī Yāqūt Khān, but he could not be ranked as a War Minister in the modern sense. He neither formulated military policy, nor looked after the whole military organisation, nor was he responsible for the whole army arrangement. Generally, he was responsible for the standing army and for the arrangements thereof, whenever any war broke out. The strength of the army varied from time to time; and, very often, separate military leaders were appointed to raise armies, make arrangements for them. It cannot be said that Yāqūt Khān planned all the expeditions and campaigns or even planned the defensive strategy and executed it. The forts and fortifications were certainly not all under him. If there was anyone who could be considered to be responsible for the military arrangements, organisation, equipment, offensive and defensive policy, strategy and plans and forts and fortifications, then it was Malik Ambar. Hence, his authority was unrestrained and unfettered. As has been already said, the rule in those times could be only *one-man* rule and that one-man was either the King or the Chief Minister. As the Nizāms'āhī king was either a puppet or a child in the hands of Malik Ambar, it was the latter who had the complete control of the military administration.

II. An estimated strength of the army.

The exact strength of the army cannot be estimated with any degree of certainty. However, there are references to the strength of the Nizām'sāhī army under the control of Malik Ambar at various times in the contemporary records or authentic history as follows :

1. 10,000 Marāthās about the year, 1609 A.D.²
2. 40,000 Deccanees (Marāthās?) about the year, 1609 A.D.³
3. 40 to 50 thousand horse about the year, 1624 A.D.⁴
4. "In the wars this king (Malik Ambar) wages with the Mughal, as was said "he ordinarily takes the field with more than 60,000 cavalry. Not all of them, though, are his. For Idalxa (Ādils'āh) has supplied him 25,000 paid at his cost, because he is himself very much concerned with protecting himself against the Mughal; and King Cotubuxa (Kutubs'āh) of Golcondā also helps with five or six thousand horse".⁵
5. According to Pieter Van Den Broecke, Malik Ambar had 80,000 horse in all including 600 from Golcondā, 10,000 horse and foot from Bijāpur and 12,000 of his own Marāthā auxiliaries".⁶

III. The Guerilla Warfare:

Much of the strength of Malik Ambar lay in the guerilla warfare, as has already been pointed above. Most of those who have probed deep into the history of the Deccan think that S'ivāji was the originator of this system. Those who have read some account of Malik Ambar's secondary sources are likely to think that he was the originator of this system. In reality, the system had been very old in the Deccan and, to a large degree, had been the product of the geographic environments of the country.⁷ Firishtāh observes that it "became a custom for the Ahmednagar army to take the field twice a year at stated periods to devastate and plunder the country contiguous to Dowlatabad, in order, if possible, to reduce it by famine".⁸ This was done at the period of autumnal and vernal harvests, that is, on the occasion of Das'harā and Holt festivals.⁹ It is noted

that S'ivāji's practice in this respect too was not original. This kind of warfare was generally adopted by the Marāthās, who had distinguished themselves in it. The light Marāthā horse, "Bergy Cavalry" became proverbial at that time.¹⁰ S'ivāji effectively employed them and turned the system of warfare to his best advantage which had already fully developed before his times.

IV. *Bārgīrs and S'iledārs:*

Even the division of the horsemen into *Bārgīrs* and *S'iledārs* goes back to times much earlier than S'ivāji and Malik Ambar. The word, *Bārgīr* was abbreviated and pronounced as 'Barghy'.¹¹

Of *S'iledārs*, there is a solitary reference in Firishtāh's history. It is well-known that *Bārgīrs* were regular servants of the King, individually paid and equipped by Government. *S'iledārs* were leaders of troops maintained and equipped by them who were paid an annual lump sum for the number of troops maintained. Evidently, Government had greater control over the *Bārgīrs* than over the *S'iledārs* who were, after all, mercenaries. These soldiers, specially *Bārgīrs*, were the light horse referred to as *Bargīs* so often in the history of Mahārāstra. In the '*Burhān-i-Māsir*', there are many references to *S'iledārs*. It is obvious that there was a class of mercenary leaders who maintained a number of soldiers and hired them to anyone who required their services on payment. It is needless to say that they could not be much relied upon for efficient and loyal and honest services. Malik Ambar does not seem to have used them to any great extent.

There was also a third category of troops, namely, those of feudal chiefs. Firishtāh mentions that Burhān Nizāms'āh I in about 1531 A.D., enlisted Marāthā *Rājās* in his service, "giving them back their lands in *jāgīr*, on condition that they should supply troops when required for the state".¹² It is clear that each of the Muslim states of the Deccan had many such feudal chiefs who were commissioned to supply troops on demand. These troops could not be expected to be punctual in service and

very rarely did zealous and honest service. Malik Ambar does not seem to have used these soldiers except in case of dire necessity. There is a solitary instance available in which Malik Ambar demanded 100 foot soldiers (*Has'am*) from the *Kārkoons* of *Māmle Murtazābād* alias *Cheul* (*Choul*) at the time of the disturbance created by the Portuguese at *Revadandā* in 1625 A.D.¹³ It can be safely believed that even this lesson was well taken to heart by *S'ivājī*.

V. *The Artillery and Elephants:*

Artillery and elephants formed an integral part of Malik Ambar's army. The description that has been given of the contemporary warfares in various historical sources mentions the use of cannons and guns and of elephants in them. As the eastern portion of plateau, comprising the *Nizāms'āhī* state, was less rugged in relief than that of *S'ivājī*, he could make use of elephants only sparingly in the *Sahyādri* hills. The same may be said to be true of the use of guns and cannons in case of *S'ivājī*. In the *Nizāms'āhī* territory, both could be used sufficiently and effectively. "The king (the *Nizāms'āh*)", observes the contemporary traveller, *Pyrard de Laval*, "has a large number of elephants".¹⁴ To artillery, there are references in all the chronicles of the time. The famous cannon, *Mulk-i-Maidān*, was a *Nizāms'āhī* piece.¹⁵ It was brought by Malik Ambar in the early part of 1625 A.D. - from *Daulatābād* to *Sholāpur* in order to batter down the walls of the latter fort. *Burhān Nizāms'āh II* had a good artillery. In his war with the Portuguese, he is said to have lost 75 guns.¹⁶

Incidentally, it may be pointed out that the superiority of *Bergy* horse over the units of elephants and artillery was fully realised by Malik Ambar. In this connection, it may be remembered that he carried out swift and daring raids into the *Moghul* territory at *Surat* in 1609 or 1610,¹⁷ to *Burhānpur* in 1610¹⁸ and even in *Mālwa* beyond the *Narmadā* in November, 1620¹⁹ and successfully retired into his own territory without much loss of men and materials.

The wars, that Malik Ambar waged, were fought with the help of artillery and elephants on many occasions, though he

did use the Marāthā light horse with discrimination and very often with great success. One of the reasons was that in this method the Moghul were hardly trained. Whatever they learnt of this method, they did so in the Deccan as a matter of imitation on account of the compelling circumstances. They could not be as well-versed in this method of warfare as the Marāthās who received training in it for several generations. Malik Ambar's triumphant victory at Bhātwadī owed much to this method of warfare. As compared with Nizāms'āhī forces the Ādils'āhī forces seem to have been inferior in this method. Probably the geographic peculiarities of the Nizāms'āhī territory contributed to its adoption and development and afforded chances of success than the Ādils'āhī state. It is also clear from various accounts of the wars waged by the Nizāms'āhī generals that Malik Ambar developed the guerrilla warfare to a greater degree of perfection. It was from him that S'āhjī learnt it, and S'ivājī learnt both from his father and indirectly from Malik Ambar.

The following contemporary description of the use of the artillery prior to Malik Ambar's ascendancy to power is worthy of quotation here:

"When the warriors saw the queen (Chānd Bībī) under the royal umbrella, their courage increased a thousand-fold and they drove back the enemy from the breach with a heavy fire of artillery and musketry and with shower of arrows. A heavy fire of artillery and musketry and showers of handgranades were also rained on the enemy from the bastions, and this drove them from the ditch. So strenuous was the effort made by those who were loyal to the Nizāms'āhī dynasty that Muhammad Lāri, ambassador of Ibrāhim Ādils'āh II, although he was quite ignorant of artillery, climbed in the heat of the fight, to the top of one of the bastions and set light to his patched robe, with which he fired several guns, doing great execution among the enemy."²⁰

The Nizāms'āhī state had in the beginning a fairly long seacoast.²¹ Burhān Nizāms'āh II had fought a war with the Portuguese for the capture of Revādandā, where some sort of navy was used for the prosecution of the war. The well-known sea-fort was a part of the Nizāms'āhī territory. Malik Ambar

too had been well aware of the need and advantage of a strong fleet with which to protect his commerce with the Persian Gulf. He had created a naval base on a rocky island off the Kokaṅ coast about 32 Kms west of Rājgad and in command of his war-ships he placed a number of Abyssinians. But the rocky island never received any name. It was simply styled as Jezirā or the Island. The Arabic word the Marāthās corrupted into Janjiā, which continued to be its name to this day.²² Malik Ambar came into conflict with the English who once thought of retaliating upon him by seizing his ships and sinking them in the sea.²³ It is, however, fully known to the readers of Indian History that the Indians could not successfully resist the Europeans in the sea. It is too much to expect that the Nizāms'āhī navy could be very efficient and effective means of defence of the seacoast of the State.

Lastly, it may be mentioned that the king had his own body-guards (*Khāskhel*). At times, even this body was used for the purpose of offensive as well as defensive warfare.²⁴

VI. *Military Organisation:*

The same organisation as was prevalent in the times of S'ivāji in Mahārāstra obtained during Malik Ambar's regime. To *Havaldārs* of the army, there are various references available.²⁵

The head of the '*Khāskhel*' was called *Sar-i-khel*.²⁶

In those times forts formed the several strategic points of defence. Some territory in the vicinity of the fort was attached to it. The chief officer of a big fort was called *Kotwāl*,²⁷ but that of a small fort was styled *Nāikwādi*.²⁸ There were also other officials such as *Nāzir*,²⁹ that is, Store-keeper, *Sābnīs*,²⁹ that is, Accountant, etc. In some cases, the chief officer was called *Sarnāik*.³¹

It is hardly necessary to state that the defence of the state depended very greatly upon the loyalty of the chief officer of the forts. Very often the enemy made attempts to seduce the chief officer of a fort by offering heavy and tempting baits. Many a time, a fort was lost because the chief officer fled away or died by a random shot.

VII. *An Estimate of Military Arrangements:*

The very facts that Malik Ambar kept the Nizāms'āhī state alive against the determined and traditional enemy, the Moghuls, for a little more than a quarter of a century, beat back their repeated attacks, carried out daring raids into their territory and struck terror into their hearts and ultimately, at the time of his death won the admiration of Jahāngīr, and emerged triumphant in the battlefield of Bhātwaḍī (1624 A.D.) against a formidable combination, and thereafter drove off the enemies into their territories and gave them battles speak volumes for the efficient arrangements of his military forces. The Dutch traveller named Vān Ravesteyn observes: "The three (Deccan) kings had separate armies, (about the year 1615 A.D.) side by side. Malik Ambar was in the middle, Hadulxa (Āḍls'āh) to the right and Cotebixa (Kutbs'āh) to the left. The army of Cotebixa was in bad order; that of Malik Ambar was in a tolerably good order..."³² The comparison cited here brings home the superiority of Malik Ambar's army as contrasted with the inferiority of the armies of the other two Muslim states of the Deccan.

References and Notes

1. The forts of Malik Ambar's regimes have been depicted in Fig. IV. (For forts refe to Section II of ch. 15).
2. *B.S.*, 306.
3. William Finch: *Purchas and His Pilgrims*, IV, 31.
4. *B.S.*, 415.
5. *Documents Remetidos da India*. No. 1115, dated Feb. 20, 1619 A.D.
6. *Journal of Indian History*, 1938, 140.
7. *B.F.*-III 193,201, 220, 233-34 & 257; *B.M.*, 297 (*J.A.*, 1923.)
8. *B.F.*-III, 201.
9. *Ibid.*, 199.
10. *B.M.*, 297 (*J.A.*, 1921).; 29, 67 (*J.A.*, 1922); 38 & 282. (*J.A.*, 1923).
11. *B.F.*-III, 226.
12. *B.F.*-III, 226.
13. *S.C.S.*-IV. Art 710.
14. *Travels to the East Indies*, 257-8.
15. *S.C.S.*-VII, 109.
16. *B.F.*-III, 285. (See foot-note).
17. *Kerr: Voyages*, VIII, 274, 275, & 331.
18. *Finch in Kerr's Voyages*, VIII, 280.

19. *F.R. Surat.-I*, 8.
20. *B.M.*, 340 (*I.A.*, 1923.)
21. *Ibid.*
22. *H.M.P.-I*, 155-6.
23. *E.F.I.-I*, 296.
24. *B.M.*, 264 (*I.A.*, 1921).
25. *Ibid.*, 251 & 332.
26. *Ibid.*, 264.
27. *Ibid.*, 199 & 239.
28. *Ibid.*, 268 & 29 (*I.A.*, 1922).
29. *Q.B.I.S.M.-XXIV-4*, 29.
30. *Ibid.*
31. *Ibid.*, Art. 23, 31.
32. *Ibid.*, IX-1, 9. (*M.A.D.R.*).

Administrative Policy

An account of Malik Ambar's administration, so far as it has become available, has to be studied from official and private records and some casual references in the historical accounts written to describe travels or to give a history of important personages, families and dynasties in those and later times. They reveal that Malik Ambar was not only the saviour of the dying Nizāms'āhī Kingdom, but also a patriot of the first rank, devoted to the cause of the state and its people. Therefore, as a great organiser, being endowed with sharp intelligence, he succeeded in the task of establishing a benevolent and benign administration under his Premiership.

There is no doubt that he tried to serve and save the Nizāms'āhī state from the annihilating Moghul ruler, sweeping down to the south from the times of Akbar, whose policy of conquest was pursued faithfully by Jahāngīr too. To revive the dying or almost dead Nazāms'āhī state was no easy task in the face of the determined and repeated imperialistic designs of the contemporary Moghal Emperors from the north, the greedy eyes of the Golcoundā Kingdom to the south-east and the Ādils'āhī kingdom to the south and south-west. The Nizāms'āhī Kingdom was placed among three crushing stones: the biggest being to the north. Every one of them was ready to pounce upon the dying Nizāms'āhī state to wipe it out of the map of the Deccan. It was, therefore, necessary for Malik Ambar to save the Nizāms'āhī state from being engulfed into the three neighbouring states by which it was encircled, and, *secondly*, to maintain its freedom. He wielded his unrestrained and autocratic powers for

the well-being and welfare of the Nizāms'āhī kingdom. Any pure self-seeker of his ability had invariably, but for a few exceptions, tried to seek the crown of the king, but he refrained from this ambitious design on the Nizāms'āhī state. A person with confidence in his ability to save a state from destruction and to maintain its freedom does try to assume all the power he can and he must secure it to himself to promote the good of the State and its people. Disturbed times have given rise to autocrats who only could rescue the society from destruction and ruin. Without all the power in one hand in such times, no one has been able to achieve anything and no one could pursue a policy worth the name. It was the urgent expediency of the chaotic conditions obtaining in those days that Malik Ambar bided his time in order to remove Miyā Rājū, who was apparently nothing but a self-seeker. All his behaviour, as manifested in the chronicles of the time, indicates that Rājū's activities were not in complete accord with Malik Ambar's patriotic and lofty aims and ideals. Malik Ambar, on the other hand, entertained no ideas of submission to any power for self-seeking interests. He did it because the exigencies of the time dictated it. Fuzūnī Astrābādī observes in this connection, as follows:

“Jahāngīr, after his coronation, entrusted the affairs of the Deccan to the Khān-e-khānān. Ambar went on prospering more and more from day to day. On the one hand, he maintained very cordial relations with the Khān-e-khānān and behaved in a friendly manner towards the Moghul forces; on the other hand, he behaved towards the Ādils'āh as if he were his very servant. *But all this was a mere show and no piece of cunningness.* Ambarjiv wanted that as the Moghul forces ravaged the Bālāghāt area by their depredations and laid waste Daulatābād and other territories and the Marāthā forces had entered the Berar-Khān-desh area and laid it desolate and farmers, (therefore), had become ruined, they should gain some respite (so that) their cultivation might improve”.¹

Had he picked up quarrels with the Ādils'āhī or the Moghul state in the very beginning of his career, not only he but the Nizāms'āhī state, which he strongly desired to save, would have been easily swept out of existence by any one of them. On the

other hand, he turned to his advantage the troubles at the Moghul Court and not only maintained friendly relations with the Ādils'āh, but sought his friendship and help not simply for his self aggrandisement, but for the state. Without their friendly attitude he tried to maintain his amicable and pacific attitude to the best of his abilities with the Ādils'āh and the Moghul commander of the Deccan forces *namely* the Khan-i-khānān which enabled him to remove from the field of political arena Miyā Rājū to consolidate and bring about cohesion and unity in the tottering Nizāms'āhī kingdom. That he achieved this result with a far-sighted policy is quite clear from his history. This, then, was clearly his first aim and he attained it within a short span of time which has to be accepted by any impartial historian.

Malik Ambar's administrative policy may be discussed under the following heads:

(a) Law and order, (b) Promotion of Agriculture, (c) Revenue System, (d) Economic Prosperity, (e) Cultural Activities, (f) Religious Policy, (g) Justice, (h) Attitude towards *Vaiandārs*, and (i) *Attitude towards the Europeans*.

II. Law and Order

Malik Ambar maintained perfect law and order within the Nizāms'āhī kingdom on pain of severely cruel and deterrent punishment. This is borne out by the high and impartial contemporary testimony of Pieter Van Den Broecke in the following words:

"The Malik maintains good laws and administration in his country. He punishes thieves very severely so that you can safely travel with gold through his country. If any one gets drunk, he promptly and melted lead poured down in his throat. Nobody on pain of death offer strong drink for sale or even travel (with it) through the country..."²

It need hardly to be told that without internal peace and clean administration, no economic prosperity and cultural development would have been ever possible.

II. *Promotion of Agriculture:*

As soon as he was convinced that he could pay his attention to the internal matters of the state, he began to set the kingdom on the path, if not the road, to prosperity. Agriculture was the mainstay of the state to maintain human life. He, therefore, set himself about the improvement and expansion of agriculture and, as a result, the life of the people was placed on a sound and solid foundation. Malik Ambar and his official subordinates including *vatandārs* paid their constant attention and due care to the extension of agriculture by colonisation of un-inhabited tracts, by bringing unused lands under the plough³ and expansion of gardens and plantations⁴. The reclamation of the coastal land in the vicinity of Chaul for farming was effected by the construction of embankments.⁵

With a view to promote agriculture, horticulture and plantation, concessional rates of revenue were realised in the initial stages which were increased by slow degrees.⁶

III. *Land-Revenue System:*

In order to foster cultivation of land, a sound land policy is intimately linked up with it. Therefore, it is essential to note the results of the land-revenue system, introduced by Malik Ambar. In order that agriculture might be carried on well, it was necessary to make the people apply to it with industry and interest and assure them a reasonable return from its produce. Therefore, he had ordered the measurement of all agricultural lands, assessed them for realisation of land-revenue and government dues from them were settled on a rational basis so that the collectors of the government might not oppress or harass the peasantry. His mature and varied experience had made him conversant with the land-settlement of Todarmal, Akbar's Revenue Minister, who seems to have been a pioneer in this direction. The people could harbour a sense of security to reap the fruit of their hard and strenuous labour. Malik Ambar, unlike Todarmal, did not make his revenue settlement permanent and the marked flexibility of the Nizāms'āhī revenue system proved of immense benefit both to the state and the peasantry of the king-

dom, as it offered stimulus and fillip to increased farming activities. He had issued orders to collect revenue immediately after the harvesting of crops and to refrain from indulging in the future molestation of the farmers.⁷ The land-revenue settlement of Malik Ambar bore its desired effects which find expression in the contemporary and subsequent historical records and private correspondence.

IV. *Economic Prosperity:*

The farming alone could not lead to all round economic prosperity of the people which had, therefore, to be supplemented by industries. Though a detailed and systematic knowledge of the prevalent industries in the Nizāms'āhī state in the first quarter of the seventeenth century is lacking, there are definite but scattered reference to the contemporary industries such as silk and cotton textiles, wood-work, ship and boat-building at Chaul and textiles at Kalyān and Bhiwandī.⁸ In addition to textiles, other traditional industries persisted and were encouraged, such as ironsmelting, black-smithy, metal-working (particularly for domestic utensils and wares), earthenwares, glass-manufacture,⁹ jewellery, widespread manufacture of foot-wares, and the like, which in no mean degree, must have served to contribute to the general economic well-being and welfare of the people. Cesses and taxes were levied on a rational basis on taxable items for their sale and purchase with a view to promote their production and sale.¹⁰

V. *Cultural activities:*

With material progress and prosperity of the people, cultural activities in the Nizāms'āhī kingdom at the time seems to have not been totally neglected. Precious little is known about Malik Ambar's positive and definite encouragement to language and literature or fine arts. That Marāthī began asserting its own as a regional language and evinced a marked trend to become chaste and pure are evidenced by the contemporary private and official records of the time. That Malik Ambar was fairly cultured man loving the society of the learned and the

pious is manifest from the high, impartial and contemporary testimony of Āsad Beg.¹¹ Dr. Banarsi Prasad Saksena observes in this connection that Malik Ambar became the nucleus of the revival of the cultural traditions of Ahmadnagar.¹² That the Nizāms'āhī Premier had been personally interested in vocal and instrumental music and received his encouragement is evidenced in the following excerpt from the travel account of Pyrard de Laval:

“—when (the King) takes his meals he causes to come about him a number of beautiful women, who sing and play instruments of music”.¹³

From the accounts of the town of Khadakī (renamed Aurangābād) its ingenious and the system of domestic water-supply it is more than evident that he was not devoid of the sense and necessity of the encouragement to fine arts, especially, architecture. Jahāngīr's reference to it seems to be one of appreciation,¹⁴ though his forces laid the town of Khadakī in destruction and ruins in 1611 A.D.¹⁵ It is likely that he might have founded other towns, of which, now, no complete knowledge exists. There are two or three Ambarpurs, one of which, to the south-west of Shevagāon and north-east of Ahmadnagar, has his tomb. It is likely that these, at least the one might have been founded by him. The Moghul ruler destroyed only the Nizāms'āhī kingdom, but, probably, its towns also, as it did in several other parts of India. Jahāngīr's mention of the complete destruction of Khadakī bears a gloomy testimony to this destructive work of the Moghul soldiers. Scattered glimpses and notices of the construction of mosques forts and their repairs, remodelling and extensions of existing buildings reveal that brisk building and construction work had been undertaken during Malik Ambar's regime.¹⁶ There are a few references to inscriptions on stone walls of such buildings which conclusively establish the encouragement to the art of carving inscriptions on stones.¹⁷

VII *Religious Policy:*

Malik Ambar appears to have adopted a policy of non-inter-

ference in religious matters, customs and practices of various faiths, creeds and sects and never entertained an idea of evolving any synthesis of religious faiths or beliefs and still less to assume to rôle of a new prophet. He never interfered with the question of religion. There is no direct or indirect hint or clue in any way in historical records, now available, that he attempted to interfere with the religious freedom of any one at any time. On the contrary, positive, unambiguous and definite references to his scrupulous policy of non-interference with customs, rites, and practices of the Hindus are available. A government communique of the 22nd Jan., 1627 informed the *Des'akas*, *S'etes*, *Mahājans*, *Mokdams* and *Ryots* of the *Māmle Murtdzābād* alias *Cheul* (*Chaul*) that Hindu ryots had settled at many places and had their former temples where they performed their worship and continued their religious faith uninterrupted. They expressed their deep sense of gratitude to the Government. A fresh *farmān*, issued in this respect to *Kārkoons* and *Sarsamants*, and *Habas-khān*, had directed to implement the instructions contained in it for unswerving continuance of the former policy, obtaining during Malik Ambar's regime¹⁸,

The reference to *Jakatī Hinduwanī* (tax on the Hindus) in the *Māmle* of *Murtizābād* alias *Cheul* (*Chaul*) in 1607 A.D. and its assignment to *Rāmājī S'ripatī Prabhu* is significant. It appears to be a pilgrim tax, levied on the Hindus at the pilgrim centre of *Chaul*. There was no similar levy at *Revādanda*, opposite to *Chaul*.¹⁹ There is also another reference to the imposition of *Idapatī* (cess for *Idā*) on the people at *Chaul*.²⁰ It is not clear from it whether this cess was realised from the Hindus of the place. The above reference are telling evidences of the practice of former religious rites and customs to be allowed to continue during Malik Ambar's regime.

He continued un-interrupted all the grants and concessions that had been awarded to the Hindu man of learning, saints and institutions including temples. The following references bear ample testimony to this conclusion:

- (1) The previous *inām* perquisites to *Brahmi* (e) continued. (*M.I.S.*:XV, Art. 430, dated the 27th Nov., 1601 A.D.)
- (2) The grant to *Narsinha Bhat Chaitainya Mānbhāva*,

- previously sanctioned by Jamāl Khān in 1588 A.D. (*S.L.*, Art. 4, dated the 24th May, 1604 A.D.).
- (3) The grant to Malhār Bhat, son of Krasīṇa Bhat Bhagat Moryā. (*M.I.S.-XX*, Art. 225, dated the 15th Aug., 1604 A.D.).
 - (4) The grant to Balambhat, son of Mahādbhat, resident of the township of Nāsik (*S.C.S.-II*, Art. 287, dated the 7th July, 1605 A.D.).
 - (5) The grant to Ākobā, son of Godabā Badwe, priest of S'ri Vithal (temple). (*S.L.*, Art. 5, dated the 13th Oct., 1605 A.D.).
 - (6) The grant to S'iodāsbbhat and Kāles'varabhat, son of Krasṇabhat of Newāse. (*Itihas ani Aitihasik*, Art. 362, dated the 28th August, 1606 A.D.).
 - (7) The grant to Dāmodarbhat, son of Nārāyaṇbhat and Govindabhat and Alambhat of the village, Ārvī, *Sammāt Junnar*. (*Sixth Annual Conference of B.I.S.M.*, 95, dated the 22nd July, 1607 A.D.).
 - (8) The grant to Kās'ibhat, son of Kes'avabhat. (*Q.B.I.-S.M.-II*, 156, dated 1607 A.D.).
 - (9) The grant to Dāmodarabhat and Rāmes'varabhat of the township of Ārvī of *Parganā Pāndepedgāon*. (*M.I.S.-XV*, Art. 373, dated the 2nd Jan., 1609 A.D.).
 - (10) The grant to Murārībhat, son of Gangādharabhat Brahme in Chākaṇ and Kadūs. (*M.I.S.-XV*, Art. 431, dated the 27th June, 1609 A.D.)
 - (11) The grant to Gopīnātha Bhat, son of Rāmes'vara Bhat Junandār. (*M.I.S.-XX*, Art. 380, dated the 3rd Aug., 1612 A.D.).
 - (12) The grant to Malhārabhat, son of Krasīṇabhat Bhagat Moryā. (*M.I.S.-XX*, Art. 225 & 226, dated the 5th Aug., 1604 & July, 1613 A.D.).
 - (13) The grant to Nārāyanbhat, son of Dāmodarabhat and Prabhākārbhat, son of Rāmes'varabhat. (*M.I.S.-XV*, Art. 385, dated the 23rd Nov., 1613 A.D.).

- (14) The grant to Gopāl Vithal. (Sixth Annual Conference of *B.I.S.M.*, 87, dated the 11th Aug., 1614; *P.D.-XXXI*, Art. 7.)
- (15) The grant to Bhatāchariye, son of Rāmarāja Gosāwī, resident of the township of Niwāse, dated the 28th Oct., 1614 A.D., (*P.D.-XXXI*, Art. 7.)
- (16) The grant to Hari Bhat, son of Vis'rāma Bhat Deurkar. (*M.I.S.-XX*, Art. 67, dated the 26th Dec., 1614 A.D.)
- (17) The grant to Ranganātha Bhat Purandare. (*S.C.S.V*, Art. 675, dated the 31st May, 1617 A.D.)
- (18) The grant to Dāmodarabhat and Rāmas'varabhat, resident of Ārvī Mudgal. (*M.I.S.-XV*, Art. 400, dated the 7th Oct., 1618 A.D.)
- (19) The grant to Nārāyān Bhat, son of Rāmes'vara Bhat and Prabhākar Bhat, son of Rāmes'vara Bhat, residents of Ārvī-Mudgal. (*M.I.S.-XV*, Art. 472, dated the 26th Oct., 1618 A.D.)
- (20) The grant of *Mokāsā* of village Jategāu to Rāmes'vara and Chintāman Bhat Upādhye. (*M.I.S.-XV.*, Art. 388, dated the 25th March, 1621 A.D.)
- (21) The grant to S'ioadās Bhat, son of Kraṣ'na Bhat. (*S.C.S.-IV*, Art. 701, dated the 10th Feb., 1622 A.D.)
- (22) The grant of land to Mahādeo Bhat, son of Mudgal Bhat Purandare. (*M.I.S.-XV.*, Art. 391, dated the 4th Nov., 1622 A.D.)
- (23) The grant to Mudgal Bhat Krasīna Bhat. (*M.I.S.-Art.* 296, dated the 18th March, 1623 A.D.)
- (24) The grant of *inām* to Dado Mānkar Badwā. (*S.C.S.-IV*, Art. 702, dated the 21st April, 1625 A.D.)

All the above-cited instances of grants elucidate convincingly that Malik Ambar accorded the continuance of religious grants to the Hindus almost to his death. Such examples can be multiplied which reveal that they are a legion.

Moreover, he also, as can be gleaned from references to contemporary documents, sanctioned fresh grants and endowments

to the Hindus. It has been mentioned that land, and one seer of oil per diem for the purpose of light had been granted to Yādavabhat, son of Atābhat and Vināyakabhat, son of Nārāyanbhat Ghode, in the temple of S'ri Kedāres'war, Poonā which may be cited here as an example of the fresh grant sanctioned by Malik Ambar. It alludes to a *sanad* granted by Nizām-mulk and Malik Ambar and Haibat Khān to Yādavbhat son of Nārāyanbhat Ghode.²¹ This appears to be a new grant made in the first instance under the joint seal of Nizām-mulk (Murtazā Nizams'āh?) and his chief minister, Malik Ambar. This shows that, where necessary, even new grants to Hindu temples were accorded by Malik Ambar. There are documents of grants made to the Muslims and Muslim institutions,²² but the above grant is a novel one, and is a clear manifestation of how Malik Ambar could rise above communal sentiments and accord an equal and impartial treatment to the Hindus and the Muslims, irrespective of his own religious persuasion. A circular, in May, 1617 A.D., enjoined all the Hindus and Muslims of Poonā *Parganā* to renew their grants of *ināms*.²³ It is very likely that such a circular might have been issued in all the *Parganās*. In a nutshell, his policy in the religious field was admirably noble in its intents and purposes. Though himself a pious and devoted and faithful follower of Islām, he did not exhibit any kind of favourable partiality towards his co-religionists in his administration. The Marāthā soldiers and leaders deserted him thrice: first in 1614 A.D., then in 1622 A.D., and lastly, again 1624 A.D.,²³ on the eve of the battle of Bhāt wadi, but they did not attribute any religious motives to their desertions. On the other hand, there seems to be many Hindus employed in various categories and ranks of offices, particularly, the revenue department was manned by *brāhmanas*.²⁴ The Marāthī Bakhars mention that it was Sābājī Anant who espoused the cause of Malik Ambar for the latter's selection for the high post of the chief minister of the Nizāms'āl.²⁵ Whether this is historically true or not, it breathes the respect and esteem and honour commanded by him from the Hindu compatriots. That he was held in high esteem by ranks and files of the Deccanis (Marāthā Hindus) is also borne out by the reliable contemporary testimony of the Portuguese, who vouchsafed that Malik Ambar could fare well

against the Moghuls so long as the Deccanis remained loyal to him.²⁶ The authentic history of his times does not record the names of all the ministers who worked with him. It cannot, therefore, be said with any degree of certainty whether he chose Hindus as his colleagues or not. Sābāji Anant seems to be responsible for much of the land-settlement, introduced by Malik Ambar. Many military leaders were Hindus. The Marāthās deserted his cause thrice not because of his anti-Hindu policy or feelings but because of his unbearable and overweening behaviour and conduct towards them which suppressed their growing feeling of self-importance. In conclusion, it may be said that his policy towards the Hindus was one of religious tolerance, unbiased and non-communal.

VIII. *Justice:*

An impartial and unbiased dispensation of justice has been reckoned always to be hall-mark of efficient and benevolent administration. Not unlike, his revenue system and policy, Malik Ambar was best known in the Deccan of his times for his impartial and benevolent justice to which spontaneous tributes have been paid by his contemporary statesmen, historians and rulers, as well as the European travellers in the Nizāms'āhī territory during his regime. This need not detain us any longer, as a detailed and systematic exposition of his judicial system and attitude has been already attempted in chapter 10.

IX. *Attitude towards Vatandars:*

In his impartial testimony, the Dutch traveller, Pieter Gilles Van Ravesteyn observed in 1615 A.D.: "Excellent justice was maintained in his (Malik Ambar's regime) and was honoured by every one."²⁷ Even peasants or persons of common rank could approach him and the government authorities for the redress of their hardships and grievances, as can be evidenced by the representation made in 1607 A.D., in regard to the discontinuance of the practice of collection of land-revenue, taxes and cesses out of the season, but to do so in the proper (harvesting) season. This earnest and reasonable representation seems to have been

considered and granted by Malik Ambar.²⁸ It appears, however, that, some times, in the outlying and remote parts of the kingdom, some officers or *vatandārs* acted in a highhanded manner and harassed the people there, as is instanced by the following examples:

“—————even today it (the fort of Dandā) is in the hands of a friendly king, it is in charge of an officer who disregards the orders of his king, and obliges us to take precautions when our merchant ships and navy has to pass that way, because the said captain gives shelter to the paros (padaus, sbips) of Malabares, and these issue forth to prey on sbips. And even though the court and former viceroys complained to the King of Melique about this, no redress could ever be secured. For the fortress is in the possession of this officer *for the duration of his life*, as it previously belonged to his father. Thus, he considers it as his own and lives like one who is in state of rebellion.”²⁹ A similar complaint is recorded as follows:

“In the Upper Chaul this king has at present as his tanadār and revenue official a Muslim by name Nabscao (Habas Khān?) He too discharges his duties well. A short while ago your Majesty’s factors in the city of Chaul complained to me that his tanadār was not paying the money collected from tributes. I wrote to him expressing my surprise, and I understand he will mend his ways.”³⁰

Prior to 1607 A.D., Malik Ambar attempted to gain financial control over *vatandārs*, as revealed by the abolition of the assignment of a village or villages for the maintenance of forts in lieu of the assignment of cash grants from the government treasury, with a view to remove concomitant oppression on the local people by *vatandārs*.³¹ After some time, Malik Ambar was obliged to revert to the old system of assignment of a village or villages for the due maintenance of forts in 1607 A.D.³²

Most probably at the very beginning of his career, Malik Ambar had endeavoured to abolish the system of perquisites from village or villages assigned to *vatandārs* in favour of payment of cash salary for government jobs. Kris’nājī Tobibarau’s appointment at Kheddurg is an example in point.³³ Another

reference to this system of payment of cash and cash travelling allowance to touring officers to do away with their repressive demands from the local people lends support to his noble and commendable efforts.³⁴

Because of heavily crowded career of military activities and campaigns, it was well-nigh impossible at times to focus his personal attention to minute details of administration and to devote his time and energy with all earnestness to abolish hereditary offices already in existence to save the people from the sufferings of administrative agents.

It appears that Malik Ambar towards the close of his career, after securing a firm footing, got some grip over the oppressive conduct of hereditary *vatandārs* and attempted to restrain their undesirable activities by removing some of the refractory *vatandārs* from their offices, as revealed in an official letter dated the 6th Sept., 1624 A.D., addressed to the *Des'mukh* of *Tarf* Bhor and *Tape* Rohidā to the effect that Bahiro Gaṇapati Majamudār had been appointed on the 23rd *Jilkād* who carried two original letters: one regarding the termination of the services of Yeko Nārāyaṇ Thāndār and Timaji Narsih Majamudār and the second one regarding the appointment of Bahiro Gaṇapati Majamudār who had been directed to take over the duties of his new office. It was instructed to pay the new appointee a salary of 13 *Hons* per mensem. Formerly, the salary of the *Majamudār* was 6 *Hons* per mensem. Bahiro Gaṇapati expressed his discontent with these emoluments and did not attend his office. The *Des'mukh* of the *Tarf*, on his own behalf, appointed the former *Des'-kulkarnī* against whom Bahiro Gaṇapati was raising troubles. The *Des'mukh* of the *Tarf* was instructed to inspect the neglected tracts, issue guarantees (to the peasantry), promote and foster cultivation and those interested in receiving guarantees would visit the headquarters of the *Thāṇā*.³⁵

Malik Ambar issued a letter of reprimand to Bahiro Gaṇapati under intimation to the *Des'mukh* of the *Tarf*, Bhor:

“And an original letter has been received, informing that the *Des'mukh* does not turn up to the headquarters and does not attend to his official work. “He stayed at a distance of about 5 kms in his village from where he attended his office occasion-

ally for a day or two. Bahiro Gaṇapatī had been enjoined strictly to attend his office regularly.³⁶

Gambājī Dhāmājī, commandant of the fort at Kheddurg, in conspiracy with his superior *ratandārs*, had seized forcibly the harvests of farmers early in 1607 A.D., and molested them and unnecessarily blamed them. All of them were issued strict injunction to desist from their attitude and to return the forfeited crops to their owners.³⁷

In the following document, there is a clear and striking example of the molestation indulged in by an officer whose services were terminated and the appointment of a new one was made in the vacant post:

“*Malik Saika* Malik Ambar———*Kārkoons* of *Parganā Sangamner*.

Pantājī Rakhamgada Kokila is informed that his father had appointed Narsodādā Bhānājā as his assistant. He has died after which his son, Kras'nājī Narsinha acted in his place. At present Kras'nājī has harassed (the people) of the township. According to the statement of all ryots, by hoodwinking the *Makadam*, he has taken recourse to wayward path and he has been removed. Pantājī is directed to take charge of the office of *Kulkarṇa* of the said township, as it has been confirmed on him. He is sent with due honours. To him the work of *Kulkarnī* should be assigned. From Kras'nājī all old papers should be recovered and with the co-operation of ryots, the accounts should be made up and handed over to him.”³⁸

In the light of the above-cited instances it is evident that Malik Ambar had decried and even made efforts to abolish the feudal system of *vatandārs* which seems to have been stoutly resisted, as it had struck deep roots from the former days. However, he did not hesitate to remove some of the refractory *vatandars* from their hereditary *vatans* when their guilt was established beyond doubt and warned and reprimanded some of them to bring them to path of their duty as servants of the public.

X. Attitude towards the Europeans:

Similarly, Malik Ambar offered protection against the molestation of the Europeans to the public of the state. Though he tried to keep friendly and cordial relations with them, he did not humble himself and refused to be humiliated by them, and he did not yield to their high handness in any way and crushed their unseemly and repressive measures against the people in the Nizāms'āhī territory and even chased them in territories of neighbouring states, whenever deemed it imperative in the interest of his people and king. We may hark back to the naval expeditions led by him against the Portuguese, in concert with the Moghuls, in 1613 A.D.³⁹ and the English at Surat in 1617 A.D.⁴⁰ The Portuguese reconciled themselves to maintaining friendly relations with Malik Ambar, as they were in a constant dread of the Moghul advance to the south, though occasionally the recrudescence of their troubles marred their cordial relations with the Nizāms'āhī state. It may be borne in mind that Malik Ambar's colleague, Mīr Abdul Fatij (Fateh?) offered the port of Rājāpur to the Dutch Company for settlement. In the interest of his own state, Malik Ambar could hardly tolerate their intrigues and irrendist activities.

This brief exposition of Malik Ambar's policy in varied fields highlights his earnest and constant attention to the material welfare and well-being and economic prosperity of the people and the cultivation of arts in no mean degree in the state. His dispensation of even-handed justice to all sections of the people in the state has earned him immortal fame and his maintenance of unfettered and commendable religious freedom, quite unknown to his age even in the so-called cultured countries of the Occident, can easily captivate the minds of all noble-hearted souls. In a few words, it can be safely and confidently concluded that Malik Ambar was a benevolent and enlightened despot of high order whose heart lay close to the welfare and prosperity and contentment of the people, like the paternal kingship of the ancient Indian tradition.

References and Notes

1. *F.A.* in *S.C.V.S* -III, 7 (*Q.B.I.S.M.*-XX-2).
2. *Journal of Indian History*, 1938, pp. 147-48.
3. *P.D.*-XXXI, Art. 10. (This relates to the Muthe Māwal, near Poona.)
4. *Ibid.*, Art. 4.
5. *S.C.S.* IX, 13 (*Q.B.I.S.M.*-XXIV-4).
6. *Ibid.*, 30&39.
7. *Ibid.*, 25.
8. *S.C.S.*-X, 25, (*Q.B.I.S.M.*-XXIV-3-4).
9. There is a distinct reference to glass. (*Ibid.*, 10 which also embodies references to other items of manufactures).
10. *Ibid.*
11. *I.H.C.*, 1941, 603.
12. *Ibid.*
13. Part II, 251-258.
14. *T.J.*-I, 314 Some details about the construction of palaces and mosques and other buildings are cited in *I.H.C.*, 1941, 604-5.
15. *Ibid.*
16. *E.I.M.*, 1933-34 (Supplement): inscriptions at Junnar No. 3435, S'iveneri Hill, No 3430, 3439 & 3440. All the relevant references have not been collected. Others may be found out in the original work and its supplement, cited here.
17. *Ibid.*
18. *S.C.S.*-IX, 47. (*Q.B.I.S.M.*-XXIV-4). It is explicitly mentioned that the practice of self-immolation by widows on the death of their husbands was allowed to persist.
19. *Ibid.*, 29.
20. *Ibid.*, 24.
21. *S.C.S.*-VIII, Art. 19. (*Q.B.I.S.M.*-XXIII-2,65).
22. *M.I.S.*-XX Art. 65.
- 22a. *S.C.S.*-IV, Art. 675, dated the 31st May, 1617.
23. *B.S.*-418.
24. *H.S.*, 35; *F.A.* in *S.C.V.S.*-111, 11. (*Q.B.I.S.M.*-XX-2).
25. *91-Q.B.*, Art. 17, 31.
26. *Documentos Remetidos da India*, No. 1115, dated Feb. 20, 1619 A.D.
27. *M.A.D.S.* (*Q.B.I.S.M.*-XI-1).
28. *S.C.S.*-IX, Art. 21. (*Q.B.I.S.M.*-XXIV-4).
29. *Documentos Remetidos da India*, No. 1115, dated Feb. 20, 1619 A.D.
30. *Ibid.*
31. *S.C.S.*-IX, 29. (*Q.B.I.S.M.*-XXIV-4).
32. *Ibid.*
33. *Ibid.*, 13.
34. *Ibid.*, 22
35. *Marāthi Daftar, Rumal* III, Art. 20. dated the 6th Sept., 1624 A.D.

36. *Ibid.*, 22, dated 1624-25 A.D.
37. S.C.S.-IX, Art. 19 (p. 20), dated the 31st Jan, 1607 A.D.
38. S.C.S.-III Art. 471, dated the 23rd Aug, 1618 A.D.; P.S.S. 2393.
39. F.R. *Miscellaneous*, Vol. 25, 59-60.
40. Bocarro : *Decadas*, Ch. CLXXII.

N.B. The attention of the reader is drawn to the following contemporary observations made by Nicholas Worthington:

"So there is with the kinge of Deccane fewer Englishmen which are turned Moores, and Portugales allsoe." (*E.T.R.*, 204.)

The construction of a Christian Church is attributed to Malik Ambar. (*J.H.C.*, 1941, 604.)

PART IV

Estimate and Historical Geography

An Estimate and Historical Geography

An estimate of Achievements

Malik Ambar occupies an eminently distinguished place and position in the annals of the Deccan in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, prior to the final extinction of the Nizām-s'āhī Kingdom in which he infused a new lease of life during his life-time.

I. *The Personality of Malik Ambar:*

A Dutchman, named *Van den Broecke*, who had seen Malik Ambar personally described him "Habesy from the land of 'Pieter Jan' as tall person "with a terrific Roman appearance" "having white 'ghelasde' (?) eyes" and "dark complexion".¹ Van Ravestyn also says that Malik Ambar was "a well-built man of life and suffering, of more than normal height and dark-as-blackmoor."²

II. *Malik Ambar—A Man of Culture:*

Malik Ambar had been a devout and pious minded Muslim, who regularly distributed alms and grains to the needy and practised exemplary tolerance towards followers of other religions and faiths, without prejudice or favour. The character of Malik Ambar was different from that painted by contemporary Moghul or Ādils'āhī historians. Āsad Beg, envoy extraordinary, deputed to the Bijāpur Court by Akbar, in his *Wākīāt*, speaks very highly of the ability and personality of Malik Ambar. "This brave and discreet man, at the time when the Nawāb Allamī (Abul-Fazi) was the *subhedār*, in great distraction came

to him with a request for service in the army. But Rājā Harbans, who was in charge of the affairs of the Deccanis, bore a grudge against him, and did not like him to be enrolled in the imperial service. He misrepresented him to the S'aikh, and Ambar had to go away in sheer disappointment. But the Almighty did not forsake him, and raised him to this noble rank and position. As this humble self had two or three times been considerate to him, it left a deep impression on him. Hence he also extended to this humble self a reception that surpassed the expectations of the world. *Verily, if the virtues of this tree of Universe were to be set down even in part, it would require a chapter, nay, an entire volume (to do it).* One of his qualities was that in his camp every night twelve thousand men recited the *Holy Qurān*. He offered his prayers with the common people whose number was never less than a thousand. *His charities are beyond description.*"³ According to Āsad Beg, the Abyssinian statesman was, as Dr. Banarsīdās observes, a fairly cultured man, loving the society of the learned and the pious. He was also very punctilious in the observance of the routine of religion. Nor was he oblivious of his duty towards his people whose imagination he captured by plain living and high thinking.⁴

III. *His Achievements:*

Malik Ambar's administration reveals beyond all doubts that he was a man of unusual and exceptional abilities. Unfortunately, "His history appears not to be known in details. But it remains certain that *he continued to make himself by far the most unrestrained power in the Kingdom of Ahmadnagar.*"⁵ Therefore, he has been described as an upstart and selfseeker, like Hyder Ali.

(a) *Benign Administration:*

He was actuated by the noble and lofty objective of maintaining the independence of the tottering Nazāms'āhī state and of giving peace to the people. He not only revived the Nizāms'āhī State, recovered much of the lost territory and even Ahmadnagar for some time, but also set up an efficient and benevolent administration in it and *introduced a system of land*

assessment which has become rather proverbial in the history of the Deccan. Unfortunately, we know little about his encouragement to industries and trade, learning and literature, arts and crafts. As Firishfāh had said, he rose to a position of power and influence, he waited for an opportunity which made his arms strong and dealt blows on all those who came in the way of the progress of the state.

(b) *Skilful General and Commander:*

He did not wage war for its own sake. The state of which he made himself the chief minister was placed among three states, the most powerful and all-devouring being the Moghul Empire, with the Nizāms'āhī capital at a safe distance in the Deccan. The wheels of the Moghul Empire had been set in motion towards the south by Akbar, who having swallowed Gujrāt, began dealing blows at the Kingdoms of Khāndesh and the Nizāms'āh of Ahmadnagar. Khāndesh was overrun and won by him within no time, but it was not quite easy for Akbar to devour the Nizāms'āhī State. Berar was lost during the period of internal dissensions in the Kingdom. But as soon as Malik Ambar assumed the responsibility of the chief minister, after removing his rival, Miyā Rājū, from the field of self-destructive competition he began setting the State in order; and when he found himself strong enough after the preliminary consolidation, he began to stem the on-rolling tide of the Moghul conquest in the Deccan. All this he managed with the most statesman-like manner. His strength was not great, and he knew that conquests are not achieved in a straight way by sheer personal prowess or military strength, organisation or generalship. That he was brave and intrepid soldier and commander is undoubtedly true and, whenever necessary, he never shrank from leading the forces personally and fighting in the thick of the battle. But he was not fool-hardy to fight at any time and place or in any circumstances. Generally, he chose his time carefully, made the necessary preparations and dealt blows on the enemy suddenly and struck hard. It was, therefore, that he scored successes more than he suffered defeats, and won back much of what had been lost by those who held the reins of the government before him. In this, he displayed a high order of general-

ship and statesmanship. He was fully aware that, at times, 'wisdom is the better part of valour'. In the war that he waged, he displayed this quality admirably well. In fact, among his contemporaries, he stands head and shoulders above them in this field. He knew when to bend and when to strike and therefore he succeeded well. We are inclined to think that this aspect of his work was fully and effectively copied, first by S'āhji and later on by his son, S'ivājī. There are many striking occasions in the history of these great personalities which seem to bear a close parallel to those of Malik Ambar.

S'āhji's agent Dādājī Konddeo, it may be remembered, had been stationed at Poona to look after his *Jāgir* and, rather, to bring about the establishment of *Swarājya*, which the former tried to accomplish and achieve between the years 1633 and 1636 A.D. At the same time, Dādājī Konddeo introduced a system of revenue settlement which was admittedly borrowed from that of Malik Ambar. S'ivājī also adhered to the revenue system of Malik Ambar.

These two Marāthā leaders also learned from Malik Ambar the lesson of how to wage a war against a rival powerful state. It was believed some time before this that S'ivājī was the pioneer in the guerilla mode of warfare in the Deccan. But Malik Ambar's history throws light that he was the predecessor of S'ivājī in actively and successfully prosecuting the guerilla warfare. Under Malik Ambar, the Marāthās, known as *Bārgīrs*, received training and attained skill in this mode of warfare, which was occasionally followed by S'āhji and more fully by S'ivājī. This is the other lesson which S'āhji and S'ivājī had learnt from Malik Ambar. Lastly, Malik Ambar seems to have imparted by his example to the Marāthās the wisdom of the policy of religious toleration. One can be a zealous devotee of one's own religion, give encouragement to it and the institutions upholding its cause and yet tolerate the pursuit of another religion by others without injuring their feelings, and interfering with their customs and practices in any way. This policy was scrupulously and sedulously practised and followed by Malik Ambar, which was taken to heart and acted upon very successfully by S'āhji and S'ivājī.

IV. Contemporary Estimates of Malik Ambar:

To Malik Ambar's abilities, capabilities and achievements even his contemporaries bear testimony.

(A) *Indians:*(a) *Firishtāh:*

Firishtāh writes: "Ambar had leisure to regulate his country, levy great armies and even dared to seize some of the imperial districts. When the authority of Jahāngīr was established, he sent frequent armies to the Deccan; but Ambar was not to be subdued, and, though sometimes defeated, continued to oppose the royal strength. At length, he gave up the place taken from the Mughuls to Prince S'āh-jahān, to whose interest he became attached and continued loyal. After this, he remained unmolested by the Delhy government, and conducted his affairs with much glory, after obliging the Sultāns of Golkundā and Beacjāpore to pay him contributions. He died in the year 1035⁷ in his eightieth year and was buried in Daultabad, under a splendid dome which he had erected". And such is the esteem in which his character is upheld that notwithstanding the various changes of property, the lands dedicated to the support of the attendants of his tomb are yet unconfiscated. *He was the first general, politician and financier of his age, and his country was best cultivated, and his subjects happiest in the Dekkan. He founded Khadkī, five kos from Daulatābad (now called Aurangabad), and ornamented it with magnificent palaces, gardens, and noble supplies of water, lined with stones, which yet remain. His charities and justice are yet celebrated. He is also eminent for his piety*"⁸.

(b) *Jahāngīr:*

The best testimony to Malik Ambar's ability came from the pen of his life-long and avowed enemy, *namely*, the Moghul Emperor, Jahāngīr. This royal autobiographer writes:

"Intelligence now has arrived of the death of Ambar, the

Abyssinian, in the eightieth year of his age, on the 31st Urdihist.⁹ This Ambar was a slave, but an able man, in warfare, in command, in sound judgment and in administration, he had no rival or equal. He well understood that predatory warfare, which, in the language of the Deccan is called *Bārgī* (*Bārgirī*). He kept down the turbulent spirits of that country, and maintained his exalted position to the end of his life and closed his career in honour. History records no other instance of an Abyssinian slave arriving at such eminence".¹⁰

(c) *Fuzūnī Astrābādī*:

Fuzūnī Astrābādī has given a fairly long account of Malik Ambar, though not always in an orderly and edifying fashion and without distortion, who mentions that Malik Ambar dealt even-handed justice to the people and kept his soldiers and farmers well contented.¹¹

(B) Europeans:

(d) *The Dutch*:

I. A Dutch merchant named, Pieter Gilles Van Ravesteyn,¹² sometime in the year 1613 A.D., reached the kingdom of Ahmadnagar, who informs us that it was then "governed by Mellick Ambar. He had at that time the supreme command over the three combined armies of Ahmadnagar, Golcondā and Bijāpur, which were then fighting with the great Moghul". "From one Mir Abdul Fatij,¹³ who was the Mir Jumla of Mellick Ambar", Van Ravesteyn secured a letter of introduction to Mellick Ambar, the General of the Deccan. "The latter had at that time presented himself a protector of the independence of the Deccan States, and was himself an excellent general and organiser. He came from a family of Deccan slaves. . . ." ¹⁴

The same traveller has made the following observations:

II. "Every thing was governed by Mellick Ambar".

III. It appears that Malik Ambar kept the track of all political events and Ravesteyn records: "The General (Malik Ambar)

spoke quite familiarly with the Dutch people about the Navel war between the Portuguese, the Dutch and the English'.¹⁵

(e) *The French:*

"In spite of heavy charge of war", observes Pyrard, "his (Malik Ambar's) finances prospered and his country throve and grew rich".¹⁶

(f) *Pietro Della Valle:*

has recorded the following in 1623 A.D.:

"The Nizamsciah now reigning is a boy of twelve years old, who therefore doth not govern it, but an Abbyssinian slave of Moors Religion, called Malik Ambar, administers the state in his stead, and that with such authority, that *at this day this territory is more generally known and called by the name of Malik's country than the Kingdom of Nizamsciah.* Nevertheless this Malik Ambar governs not fraudulently and with design to usurp, by keeping the King shut up, as I have sometime heard; but, according as I have better understood since from persons informed nearer hand, he administers with great fidelity and submission towards the young king whom they say, he hath provided or given to wife a daughter of his own,¹⁷ upon security that himself shall be the Governor of the whole state as long as he lives. This Malik Ambar is a man of great parts, and fit for Government, but, they say, very impious, addicted to sorcery, whereby 'tis thought that he keeps himself in favour with his king, and that for works of Inchantments, (as to make prodigious buildings and with good luck, that the same may last perpetually and succeed well), he hath with certain superstitious uses in these countries committed most horrid impieties and cruelties, killing hundreds of his slaves' children and others, and offering them as in sacrifice to the invoked devils, with other abominable stories which I have heard related; but, because not seen by myself, I affirm not for true".¹⁸

Van Ravesteyn's testimony lends support to the exceptional ability and unwavering fidelity and submissive character of Malik Ambar. The explanation for his astounding ability,

especially, for his power over the king, is, of course, the figment of popular imagination. As the Nizāms'āh, set up by Malik Ambar himself on the throne, was but a boy of twelve years, it required no sorcery to keep control over him. Even S'ivāji's wonderful feats have been attributed to his miraculous supernatural powers by the English factors of Surat and Bombay.¹⁹ This has been a general feature of man's explanation for all extraordinary work and ability, especially so, in India.

(g) *The English:*

From the very outset, the English anticipated misgivings from Malik Ambar. They never expected that Malik Ambar was inclined to do them any good turn to them. They continued to use abusive language for him till his death. The utterances of the English are culled out to indicate their bent of mind towards the Nizāms'āhī Protector:

I. "a rebels' country, where no satisfaction nor justice can be had for any outrage".²⁰

II. "they (Deccanis) being rebels and shifting thieves".²¹

In the above extracts one can glean that the English considered Malik Ambar as an unjust person. While they had approached Malik Ambar with their earnest request for the grant of a safe-conduct during the period of war with the Moghuls, they doubted whether he would comply with their entreaty. However, he readily granted the safe-conduct sought for by them, which was violated by his soldiers.²² Thereafter, the English always had been entertaining doubts in respect of the restitution of the loss suffered by them. They exclaimed; "the finishing of that business is assuredly doubtful".²³ However, it may be noted that they did not give themselves to despair and thought "Malik will make some reasonable end—though not to our full demand".²⁴ The reader's attention may be invited to the fact that Malik Ambar did make a partial compensation for their losses.

The native shrewdness of Malik Ambar has been hinted by the English in their correspondence. When they endeavoured to extort fancy price for their losses, he cleverly replied that they

could retain his captured vessel which he claimed to value more than ten *lacs* of rupees.²⁵

Besides this, the English complained bitterly of Malik Ambar's inhuman brutal cruelty. This can be gleaned from the following excerpt:

“—what is become of Beale, whether living or dead, we are yet uncertain (unascertained?) The Deccanees will probably detain him, if alive, to force the grant of a fresh pass”.²⁶

The religious mindedness and religious charities of Malik Ambar were a house-hold word.

Mr. William Minor in his account of the voyage of the 'Scout' notices that “There was also a galliott of Chaule was the Mallacambars (Malik Ambar's) and *has brought rice for the poore, which hee yearly sendes*.”²⁷

(h) *The Portuguese:*

I. In the year, 1619 A.D., the Portuguese have recorded:

“The Mughul was making fresh demands on two fortress, namely, Daulatābād and *Doraq (unidentified)* which constitute the main stay of (Malik Ambar) every day and would never be satisfied— Melique Ambar will not consent to it *while he is alive, neither will the officers of King Melique*”.²⁸

II. The Portuguese were optimistic regarding the capabilities and capacity of Malik Ambar and predicted that with the threatened “division of the Moghul Empire among the rival claimants”, it would “then be possible for King Melique to recover the territories which were wrested from him”.²⁹

III. “King Nizamoxa (Nizāms'āh) is still a youngster who is not yet 13 years old, and his minister and commander-in-chief Melique Ambar who has all the good and necessary qualities for this office, and has till now faced (1619 A.D.) against the Mughal like a brave and enterprising general”.³⁰

IV. Regarding the restitution of losses from the orchards and gardens at Chaul (1617 A.D.) the Portuguese averred: “—our people remained without full compensation because Melique Ambar and all other kings of the East are accustomed to take

advantage of it when they see the fortunes of any State low and its position weak. They have no regard for justice or right, and the only consideration that weighs, with them is that of power".³¹

V. In 1619 A.D., they expressed their deep sense of gratification that Malik Ambar "fared well against the Mughal and one may suppose that he will continue to do so in the future if the Deccanis, of whom his chief camp consists, remain loyal to him and do not trust the Mughal to give effect to the *farmāns*".³²

His place in the History of the Deccan:

The history of Malik Ambar is one of transitional link between the passages of old type of the Deccani Muslim rulers and the new form of the Deccani Hindu rulers, such as S'āhjī and S'ivāji. To these two persons, father and son, fortunately he had left a rich political legacy, which stood them in good stead in time to come. By his brilliant example, they had learnt to infuse a new life into the decadent State, to cherish high and noble and lofty aims, to marshal social forces and military resources, to choose opportune time to strike their opponents, to win people to their support and, thus, steer clear of dangers and hazards to achieve the main objective of building up a kingdom afresh, fired with new aspirations and untiring zeal but also to set up an efficient governmental machinery with a view to accomplish prospective goals. S'āhjī and S'ivāji gained many a valuable lessons from Malik Ambar under whom S'āhjī had the good fortune to work and just after whose death S'ivāji was born. The history of these persons, when seen in proper sequential perspective, affords a chain of admiral bond among them. Evidently, what S'āhjī endeavoured was a reflection of Malik Ambar's achievements, and what S'ivāji did was but a continuity of S'āhjī's mission in his life with an interruption of only a year or so (1636 to 1637 A.D.). S'ivāji's task was commenced for him by his zealous and enterprising father, just after his admission of his own unfortunate failure, that is, immediately after his submission to the Ādils'āh and acceptance of service under him in 1636 A.D. Malik Ambar's attempt to revive the Nizāms'āhī state had been actuated by genuine selfless motives and noble aims, as he never sought the crown for himself; but S'āhjī is believed to have done it, as the Bakhars assert that he

did not apparently take the guise of a monarch by setting up a minor Nizāms'āh on the throne but this was only a veil to conceal his real desire. But this veil was too thin and transparent to hide the real nature of S'āhji's political activities. His short-lived regime for the revival of the Nizāms'āh state has earned the titles of the regime of the Bhonsalā, the rule of the *Marāthās* and even '*Swarājya*'. Malik Ambar as a kingmaker had established under him *de facto* rule, not only of the Muslims, but of the Hindus as well, and was undeniably a manifestation of his efforts to sustain '*Swarājya*', which, as maintained earlier, was an expressed aspiration of the people with whom he totally identified himself.

A strong and convincing plea can be made out from the above discussion for studying his history from the above standpoint to highlight the nature of his activities and achievements. The history of Malik Ambar has suffered a sad neglect not only because of the paucity of historical materials but also due to his condemnation as a 'rebel' 'commotion monger', 'black-faced foreigner', 'Habash' or 'African'. One can hardly lose sight of the fact that he had adopted this country as his own motherland, looked upon its people as his own, irrespective of all considerations of faith, creed or sect. He not only rolled back the rising tide of the Moghul imperialism from the south but also captured back most of the territories lost to the Moghuls, and the Ādils'āh. In other words, he kept the torch of freedom or independence or '*Swarājya*' fully lighted in the Deccan, to the best of his abilities, which ultimately proved the grave of the Moghul empire. This noble and high aspiration of his could rally around him the unflinching support of self-inspired people to secure a new lease of life to their own state, which was nothing short of '*Swarājya*', though it might have been autocratic in form. Even the ancient autocratic kings, according to the Hindu theory of kingship, were, in essence, servants of the people. Malik Ambar had acquired all the characteristics of a king *except for the name*, and ruled like a *paternal* monarch, as looked sedulously and scrupulously to the welfare of the ruled, so far as circumstances and opportunities could permit. His land-settlement, called regionally *Malik-Ambarī-Dhārā*, was followed by S'āhji, Dādāji Konddeo and S'ivājī. Though Malik

might have learnt the principles of land-revenue settlement from Todarmal, the former framed his own system independently of the Moghul Revenue Minister. In the very beginning of his early political career, he made an effort to secure service in the Moghul court but ill-will of Rājā Harbans came in his way. However, more glorious and exalting destiny was in store for him than to be merely an humble and submissive servant of the Moghul emperor. At the dawn of the seventeenth century A.D., he addressed himself to the difficult and formidable task of resuscitating the Nizāms'āhī dominion, while he had already gained maturity in statemanship, art of warfare, diplomacy and goverance. For a little more than one quarter of a century, he resisted the forces of the Moghuls, besides those of the Ādils'āh, and the Kutbs'āh, intent upon wiping out the Nizāms'āhī state permanently. Unfortunately, as his son, Fateh Khān, did not prove equal to his task in many respects and did not possess his father's capacity and aspirations; he succumbed to the imperialist forces. But, it was in the wake of Malik Ambar's enterprising efforts that S'āhji, again, put his shoulders to the task of reviving the Nizāms'āhī kingdom which aimed at the building up a '*Swarājya*' or independent Hindu dominion.³³ It seemed that for sometime that S'āhji had succeeded in his aim, but his success was frustrated by the Moghul power, which forced the Ādils'āh to wage a war against him. This foiled his efforts, root and branch.

In a nutshell, Malik Ambar may be credited with a rich and valuable legacy left to the subsequent Marāthā builders of *Swarājya*, S'āhji and S'ivāji, in the form of sound revenue system, effective guerilla warfare to keep at bay even a mighty, formidable and determined power and, lastly, enlightened policy of religious tolerance and freedom in order to enlist the sympathy and support of followers of other religious creeds and sects.

Reference and Notes

1. *M.A.D.S.*, 8-9. (*Q.B.I.S.M.-XI-1*).
2. *Ibid.*, 10.
3. *I.H.C.*, 1941, 601-3. (This account seems to be of the year, 1620 A.D.).
4. *Ibid.*
5. *M.A.D.S.*, 9. (*Q.B.I.S.M.-XI-1*).
6. This is, of course, *Hijari* year. Malik Ambar died on the 11th May, 1626 A.D.
7. According to the new method of reckoning.
8. *B.F.*-III, 320.
9. This fell on the 11th May, 1626 A.D.
10. *I.N.* (*E.D.*-VI, 428-9).
11. *F.A.* in *S.C.S.*-III, 7. (*Q.B.I.S.M.-XX-2*).
12. *M.A.D.S.* (*Q.B.I.S.M.-XI-1*).
13. This must be *Abdul Fateh*.
14. *M.A.D.S.* (*Q.B.I.S.M.-XI-1*).
15. *Ibid.*, 10.
16. Francois Pyrard's *Voyages and Travels*, Part II, 395.
17. Van Ravesteyn states in 1613 A.D. that Malik Ambar was a grand father of the young king, "Bajirao Nisamxa (Nizāms'ah)". A daughter of Malik Ambar was married to the old king i.e. the father of Bajirao Nisamxa; and this although the young king was not a son of Malik Ambar's daughter he was a step child of her and hence the relation. (*M.A.D.S.*, 9-10, *Q.B.I.S.M.-XI-1*.) It is rather strange that the Indian chronicles do not mention at all that Malik Ambar had contracted any sort of matrimonial alliance with the royal family. It is difficult to explain how the story was caught up the contemporary European travellers, but it remained unnoticed completely by Indian chroniclers.
18. *S.N.*-II, 13.
19. *F.R.S.*, Vol. 80, 102; *O.M.Mss.*, Vol. 114, Sect. 7, 3. dated the 15th Jan, 1678; *F.R.B.-XIX*, 6 (2nd Set.), (*E.R.S.* I, No. 89 & II, Nos. 270 and 825).
20. Consultation held in Surat by President Kerridge, Giles James, and Joseph Hopkinson, November 29, 1620. (*Factory Records*, I, 2.)
21. President Kerridge, Richard Wylde, Johan Skibbaw, Joseph Hopkinson, William Marvin and George Page at Surat to the Company, Jan. 4, 1624 A.D.
22. *Hague Transcripts*, 1st Series, Vol. IV., No. 139.
23. Edward Haynes, John Parker and William Hill at Ahmedabad to the Surat Factory, Feb. 5, 1622 A.D. (*Factory Records*, *Surat Cii*, 270).
24. Thomas Kerridge, Aboard the *Hart* to the Company, October 12, 1621.
25. Abstracts of letters from Robert Jefferies with Surat Factor, October & November, during his mission to Malik Ambar. (*F.R. Miscellaneous-I*, 96.)

26. President Kerridge, Richard Wylde, John Skibbaw, Joseph Hopkinson, William Marvin and George Page at Surat to the Company, January, 4, 1624.
27. *M.R.*-XII, 71.
28. *Documentos Remetidos da India*, No. 1115, dated February, 20, 1619 A.D.
29. *Ibid.*
30. *Ibid.*
31. Bocarro: *Decadas*, Ch. CLXXII.
32. *Documentos Remetidos da India*, No. 1115, dated February 20, 1619 A.D.
33. G.S. Sardesai: Biography of S'āhji; Portuguese in Marāthī Riyāsal-II 84 (1935) Records quoted in *P.S.S.* (2799=2453 A), dated the 26th September, 1635 A.D.
S.C.N., 82.
S.C.S.-IV, Art 690. In a letter of July 1627, there is a distinct reference to *Hindwī Amal* (regime) (*Q.B.I.S.M.*-XI-3, 35) *S.L.*, 108. Explicit reference to the regime of *Mahārāj Sāheb* at the time of the extinction of the Nizāms'āhi Kingdom, *i.e.*, S'āhji.

Historical Geography

I. Political Geography:

(i) Introduction:

Malik Ambar was the Nizāms'āhī Premier from 1600 A.D. till his death in May, 1626 A.D. who had raised to the Nizāms'āhī throne Murtazā Nizāms'āh II in 1600 A.D., after the fall of Ahmadnagar in the month of August of the same year, with the first seat of capital at Parendā,¹ transferred within a year to Ausā. After the death of this monarch in 1610 A.D.,² Ambar raised to the vacant throne a minor prince known in history as Burhān Nizāms'āh III. The towering, powerful and aggressive personality of the saviour of the Nizāms'āhī kingdom from extinction and annexation into the Moghul empire so much eclipsed the governing sovereigns that to the contemporary people and even the Portuguese and other foreigners as early as 1601 A.D., the remnants of the Nizāms'āhī territory came to be known as "the Kingdom of Mellique",³ though he was merely "the petty chief of Chaul and Dabull (Dābhōl)"⁴ in 1596 A.D. In other words, Ambar was the *de facto* ruler, while the sovereigns were the *de jure* supreme authority who exercised nominal power in practice.

As Akbar's policy of the direct attack on the trunk of the Nizāms'āhī kingdom by his capture of Ahmadnagar did not lead to the surrender of the whole dominion, the imperialists directed their efforts against the major and minor pockets of resistance in it by resorting to its encirclement by their invasion

and attempts to seize on its eastern frontiers in Telangana against Malik Ambar and the territory in the proximity of Daulatābād and Nāsik against Ambar's determined adversary, Miyā Rājū and the capture of scattered and isolated pockets of opposition.

(ii) *The territories shared by Malik Ambar and Miya Raju:*

About the year 1600 A.D., Malik Ambar and Miyā Rājū in spite of the Moghul forces "—retained almost the whole of the Nizāms'āhī dominations".⁵ Evidently, the military triumph of the Moghuls failed to have made its desired impression and effect on the Nizāms'āhī kingdom.

Malik Amber possessed the country "from the Kutbs'āhī and Ādils'āhī boundaries, as far as within one coss of Beer (Bīr), and four of Ahmadnagar, as from eight coss west of Daulatābād to within the same distance of the port of Chaul", while Miyā Rājū possessed "Daulatābād as far north and south as from Gujrāt frontier to within six coss of Ahmadnagar".⁶

From the above excerpt two indisputable conclusions emerge as follows:

- (1) The Moghuls had succeeded in the initial stages of their invasion of the Nizāms'āhī kingdom in driving a wedge into it with little avail which was followed by the strategy of its encirclement and extinguishing isolated and scattered pockets of existing resistance to the Moghul authority.
- (2) The western littoral near Chaul and Dābhol in north Kokan passed away from the control of the Nizāms'āhī kingdom, prior to 1600 A.D.,⁷ of which Ambar was the petty chief in 1596 A.D. This cut off access to the sea on the west and rendered the Nizāms'āhī kingdom at least temporarily into a landlocked state which further served to effect almost complete encirclement of the kingdom.

By 1619 A.D., Kalyān and Bhivandī, river ports close to Ulhas river seems to have been well within the territorial limits

of Malik Ambar. Bassein, at the mouth of the Ulhās river, was under the control of the Portuguese.

It remains to investigate the reason as to why the Nizāms'āhī dominion remained far from complete subjugation and effective occupation under the Moghuls, despite the fall of its former capital at Ahmadnagar. It has been noted in history that Burhān Nizāms'āh II (1590-1594 A.D.), on the occasion of his invasion upon his son, Ismail, and his Minister, Jamāl-khān "represented that *should he accept the assistance of the Moghuls the Deccanī would be alarmed and object to his authority*".⁸ This feeling is reiterated by Afzal Khān Chengiz Khānī on the occasion of the negotiations for peace in March, 1596 A.D. with Prince Murād. He said, "It is however evident that *the people of this country have lived and live in enmity with foreigners*".¹⁰

It is curious to note that the indefatigable energy and efforts of Ambar served to nurture and nourish the flame of independence among the Deccanī people. Under his supreme authority and command the Marāthās received valuable military training to keep up a determined opposition against the formidable and mighty power of the Moghuls and also gained useful administrative experience for the welfare and well being of the people which stood them in good stead. With this previous background, S'āhji entertained an ambitious dream of the *swarāj-building* in the Mahārās'tra which could be fulfilled through the earnest efforts of his able and talented son, S'ivāji with his father's blessings, guidance and assistance. It is not surprising that these two successors of Ambar in the political arena within the Nizāms'āhī dominion found a ready and fruitful field for their lofty goal of independent dominion.

After 1600 A.D., the maximum sprawl of the Nizāms'āhī state was coextensive with northern Kokan littoral, its adjacent Sahyādri Range, the Mawal tracts,¹¹ encompassing the region from the fort of Rajmāchī and Chākan in the north to Rāy-ares'war Hill, Ambedkhind and Khambatkīghāt to the south, the Bālāghāt Plateau, the Poonā Havei¹² and the upper basin of the Godāvāri including the Telanganā Region.¹³ Though the province of Vidarbha (Berar) was overrun by Malik Ambar

several times, its effective occupation eluded his grasp for consolidation of administrative reorganisation and conciliation of its territory. Hence, the Province of Vidarbha can hardly be treated under the territorial sovereignty of the Nizāms'āhī dominion.

The maximum area under Malik Ambar's control may be computed to be roughly 116000 Sq. Kms. with an approximate aggregate population of 625 million.

(iii) *The Impact of Contemporary Geo-politics in the Daccan:*

After a successful negotiation of truce between the Nizāms'āhī ruler and the Moghuls, probably at the initiative of Malik Ambar, he could devote his time and energy to recapture some chunks of territory lost to the Moghuls, outside Berar and oust the formidable Miyā Rājū from the mutually destructive and unhealthy rivalry (1607 A.D.), while the Moghul empire was entangled in the troubles caused by the murder of Abul Fazl, the rebellion of Salim S'āh, declining health of Akbar and accession of Jahāngīr to the royal throne (1605 A.D.). Malik Ambar's march against the ruler of Bidar in 1602 A.D., seems to have been actuated by the aim of weaning the latter from his secret leanings towards the Moghuls. The breathing space, gained by Ambar till 1608 A.D., was utilised by him in the reorganisation of the renowned city of Kladakī. Immediately after his unsuccessful resistance at Ahmadnagar against the imperialists in 1609 A.D., his invasion of Gujrāt and the subsequent raid on the wealthy and premier port of Surat dealt a severe blow to the Moghuls in the Kokan and barred their passage for their advance further south and re-established the contact of the Nizāms'āhī dominion with the western sea-board by the earlier capture of Chaul in 1607 A.D., which seems to have exchanged hands in the preceding period at least temporarily. This extra-ordinary feat brought not only the military prestige of the Moghuls to a low level but also filled in the power vacuum in the Nizāms'āhī dominion with an admirable effectiveness against the imperialists as well as the greedy neighbouring state of Bijāpur. Malik Ambar's momentary capture of Ahmadnagar in 1609 must have shaken the courage of the Moghuls, and the defeat of the

Moghul commander, Abdullā Khān at Khadakī in the following year emboldened the Nizāms'āhī militia to offer stout and determined resistance to the Moghul arms, though later on the Nizāms'āhī troops sustained defeats. The triple alliance among the Ādils'āh, Kubts'āh and Nizāms'āh, initially made in 1615 A.D., was renewed for the defence of territories of Daccan Sultānates in 1617 A.D., at the instance of the Portuguese who always viewed with apprehension the southward expansion of the Moghul empire.

However, be it noted that the Ādils'āh of Bijāpur played a role of duplicity against Ambar by capturing chunks of the Nizāms'āhī territory in deference to a clandestine understanding with the imperialists against the neighbouring states. Ambar had to bow before the severe storm blowing over the Nizāms'āhī territory at that period of its trials and tribulations. Nevertheless the reinvestment of Ahmadnagar by Ambar in 1619 A.D., synchronizing with the extinction of the Barīds'āhī kingdom by the Ādils'āh, and the predatory warfare of his Marāthā troops against the Moghuls, resulted in the ignominious retreat of the imperialists into Berār, followed by equally bold and daring pursuit by Ambar across the Narmadā river into the Mālhwā Plateau. The subsequent repulsion of the Nizāms'āhī forces by fresh deployment of the imperialist troops compelled Ambar to come to terms with the Moghuls. The decisive victory, inflicted on the Moghuls and Bijāpurī forces at the famous battlefield of Bhāt-wādī in 1624 A.D., raised Ambar's prestige to its zenith, followed by his destructive siege of Nauraspur and the capture a part of Ādils'āhī territory. Ambar closed his glorious career of unceasing and indefatigable military exploits with his death in May, 1626 A.D. Malik Ambar emerged as a successful saviour of the Nizāms'āhī Kingdom but also restorer of all the territory, formerly lost to the Ādils'āh.

(iv) Territorial Sovereignty:

The concept of well-defined territorial sovereignty did not crystallize in the Deccan in the 17th century. The political events and incidents referred in the *supra* unfold incursions of militia of one state into the territory of another vicinal state or captur-

ing of defence points and establishments of a neighbouring state without any recognised formalities, sharing of revenue dues by adjacent states, raids for looting wealth and property, including seizure of standing crops, or groves, gardens and plantations of subject population of another state, clandestine occupation of chunks of adjacent territory of adjoining state and payment of annual tribute to another state. All this points to the conclusion that powerful state could prey upon a weak neighbouring state with little qualms of conscience and condemnation from other states. In other words, the inviolability of state territory was hardly recognised and practised in the contemporary period.

Similarly, the inviolability of territorial sea was not in vogue or enforced by any weak naval power. It has been indicated already that the establishment of trading stations on the western littoral of India by the Portuguese led them to claim sovereignty of the sea in the Indian Ocean in territorial waters as well as in the open sea. The Portuguese laid their hands on any vessel, not equipped with their *cartaz*, even out in the open sea.

(v) *The Boundaries of the State.*

Even a cursory glance at map III. gives an impression that the western boundary and a part of the eastern boundary of the Nizāms'āhī kingdom coincided with natural features. The Western boundary coincided with the sea-coast, while the eastern one seems to run along the right bank of the Godāvārī river and the left bank of its tributary, the Mānjarā river. The N. W. boundary coincided with the north facing scarp of the Ajantā range and a part of the northern border of the kingdom seems to be aligned along the interream area of the Purnā and Dudhanā rivers. The southern boundary made a conspicuous departure from any recognisable natural features. The shape of the kingdom is roughly rectangular with the east-west elongation and a projected portion into the Godāvārī-Mānjarā doab in its eastern extremities, east of Nānder, sprawling over N.W. part of the traditional Telanganā region. The boundaries of the kingdom are not wholly natural nor culturally homogeneous. In brief, they are superimposed on the existing cultural regions and do

not even embrace the whole the Marāthī-speaking area within their limits both to the North and S.W.

(vi) *Some Boundary Functions:*

The entry and exit of persons and goods into the state territory were controlled by existing regulations and formalities and practices. It has been stated by Van Ravestyn that he had procured 'a free pass' to cross the borders of the Nizāms'āhī kingdom. On reaching the farthest limit of the boundary of the Nizāms'āhī kingdom on the 13th June, 1613 A.D., the Dutch party, accompanying Van Ravestyn, was allowed to pass on payment of a formal tax of 4 *navels*, when Malik Ambar's letter was shown to border officers.¹⁴ The regulations in respect of entry and exit of individuals and goods seem to be in force both in normal and war times. The Englishmen, in November, 1620 A.D., sought a *Kaul* or safe conduct from Malik Ambar for the transport of their carvan through his territory.¹⁵ It appears that all foreigners and residents of other Indian states were required to arm themselves with trading licence before they could carry on any commercial activities in the Nizāms'āhī territory. The Dutch were offered trading rights at Rājāpore by 'Mir Abdul Fatij'¹⁶ which seems to have been unavailed of by them. Malik Ambar did not tolerate irredentist activities of foreigners as can be convincingly inferred from the warning administered by him to the English to conduct themselves as 'peaceful and discreet merchants'.¹⁷ There is an explicit reference to the search made by Malik Ambar of debtor of Ralph who had been trying to escape from his obligations.¹⁸ This instance serves to adduce evidence to the established practice of keeping a watch on 'out-laws' or 'criminal runaways' from the law.

(vii) *Boundary-Disputes:*

Normally, the common and ready means for settlement of inter-state boundary disputes was resort to arms or clandestine and forcible occupation of adjacent territory of vicinal state. However, some boundary disputes were settled occasionally by peaceful means through bilateral negotiations and stipulated

retrocession of disputed territory. The restoration of the fort of Kandahār by the Ādils'āh to Malik Ambar by persuasion is a good example in point. The establishment of *condominium* into the border territory of Sh'irwal Parganā²⁰ and sharing of land-revenue between the Portuguese and Nizāms'āhī Government in the proximity of Chaul²¹ offer instances of other peaceful methods of solving problems of disputed territory between two neighbouring states. However, the currents of historical events point to the conclusion that the last two arrangements did not work satisfactorily and subsequently simmering discontents between neighbouring states burst out into open conflicts for forcible seizure of disputed territory on account of conscious or unconscious breach of faith on the part of any of concurring parties.

(viii) *Village Boundary Disputes:*

Village boundary disputes constituted an integral part of internal Geo-politics of the times. A brief and incidental reference may be made to boundary disputes arising between individual adjacent villages and between a village and adjoining town, the nature of which has been discussed in the Chapter on Judicial Administration. The procedure for settling these disputes and the mode of marking boundary on the ground have been also alluded to in this chapter.

(ix) *Nucleus and Core of the State:*

The geo-political history of the Nizāms'āhī kingdom reveals its original nucleus around the old and impregnable fort of Junnar, in the north Māwal region. With the shift of seat of its capital to the newly build city of Ahmadnagar, the state witnessed territorial expansion in its early stages and was placed well on the way to prosperity. The flourishing core area of the state developed in the Godāvarī Basin, east of Ahmadnagar, which invited the covetous eyes of the greedy powers in the north and the south.

(x) *The shifts of capital:*

To Junnar belongs the honour of being the first capital of

the newly born state in 1490 A.D. with its eccentric location in its N.W. corner, forming its nuclear region in the remote and inaccessible tract in the north Māw'al, extending from the fort of Shivnerī to the vicinity of Daulatābād.

The founder of the Nizāms'āhī kingdom laid the foundation of a new fortified town at Bingar in 1494 A.D., with its commanding position on the bank of the Sīnā river, near Bāgh Nizām, lying hard by the water-shed along the Ahmadnagar Plateau. The shift of the Nizāms'āhī capital to this new town called Ahmadnagar after 1494 A.D. gave it almost a central location within the existing areal extent of the kingdom, equidistant between Junnar and Daulatābād. It became a custom "for Ahmudnuggur army to take the field twice a year (at the end of autumnal and vernal harvest)".²³ With the expansion of the Nizāms'āhī territory in its initial stages, Ahmadnagar remained an advance outpost on the northern frontiers till the annexation of Berār to the Kingdom which emphasised its central location even in the enlarged size of the state.

The capitulation of Ahmadnagar in August, 1600 A.D., by the Nizāms'āhī kingdom to the Moghuls necessitated the transfer of its capital to Parendā, situate within the fork of the confluence of the Sīnā river with one of its tributaries flowing towards the south, giving direct access to Ahmadnagar. Within a year or two, the seat of Government was transferred to the more secure and sheltered place at Ausā, on the Mānjarā Plateau towards its eastern extremity, south of Lātur in the proximity of which the newly raised monarch, Alī, styled as Murtazā Nizāms'āh II was suffered to retain the territory of Bīr, Ausā and Dhārūr by virtue of the peace treaty contracted by the Moghuls in 1601 A.D.²⁴ With the recapture of most of the lost chunks of territory and reunification of all the remnants of the dominion into a united whole, Ambar restored Junnar to its pristine glory in 1607 A.D.²⁵ as the seat of government, which seems to have been chosen as an advance outpost, close to the deep recesses of forested tract, for the further recovery of the territory, captured by the Moghuls. The year, 1610 A.D., witnessed the shift of the Nizāms'āhī capital to Daulatābād, a place of strategic

value, whose insulated position offered good defence among sheltered hills, against any sudden external invasion.²⁶

In 1612 A.D., Ambar transferred the Nizāms'āhī capital to the newly built city of Khadakī, at a distance of 13 kms. s.e. of Daulatābād. It stands in a valley watered by the Dudhanā river between the Satārā Hills on the south and the Sichel range on the north which commences at Ellorā and runs eastwards.²⁷ It was not only the best city in the Deccan but no other could match with it in the whole of India.²⁸

The shifts of the capitals in quick succession to the above mentioned places reveal the efforts of Ambar for adjustment to their changing locational values with the oscillation of the political isobar to and fro on the northern frontiers of the kingdom at different phases of time.

xi. *Frictional Zones:*

The areal extent of the Nizāms'āhī kingdom with its changing political vitality, suffered vicissitudes of fortune in the past on account of the political and military pressure brought to bear on its boundaries and frontiers by the neighbouring states. The frictional zones around the core of the state may be succinctly enumerated below:

- (i) The frontier fortress of Sholāpur had remained a source of frequent strifes between the Nizāms'āhī and Ādils'āhī dominions. It seems to have changed hands off and on between these political powers. Malik Ambar effected its conquest in 1625 A.D., after the famous and decisive victory at Bhātwādī.
- (ii) The Bhima-Nīrā doab also formed the bone of contention between the Nizāms'āhī and Ādils'āhī dominions. Shirwal and Indāpur, lying in this doab, were recaptured by Ambar in 1625 A.D.
- (iii) The town of Pātharī and its vicinity, which were included in Berār, were the patrimony of the brahman ancestors of the Nizāms'āhs and led to bloody and prolonged wars between the Nizāms'āhī and Ādils'āhī

sultānates, as prestige value was attached to this tract by the Nizāms'āhs. This tract passed under the possession of the Moghuls about the year, 1595 A.D.

- (iv) The littoral lying between Chaul and Dābhol was another fruitful source of frontier disputes during and preceding the regime of Malik Ambar. A firm and continuous hold on Chaul and its proximity seems to have been obtained about the year, 1607 A.D., which was sustained by Ambar's march into Gujrāt and raid on Surat in 1609-10 A.D.

xii. *The Population Characteristics:*

The ethnic and linguistic composition and the religious structure of the population in the Nizāms'āhi kingdom were far from homogeneous, although the Marāṭhī-speaking section of the people constituted an overwhelming majority. The other linguistic groups consisted of the Telgu-speaking population of the Telanganā region, the Persian speaking foreign Muslims and sprinklings of the Kannad-speaking people on the southern borders.

During Ambar's regime, not unlike today, in the Nizāms'āhi territory the population was a heterogeneous admixture of *Brāhmans*, *Ks'atriyas*, *Vaishyas*, *S'udras* and low *S'udras* among the Hindus, besides the Muslims and barbarous aboriginals and tribes. The last-named elements embraced the *Kātkaris*, *Kolis* (fishing folk), *Thākurs*, *Bhillās*, etc. These totally or partially uncivilised people with little capacity for comprehending the contemporary administrative machinery, being steeped in ignorance, had to stand generally aloof and isolated from the whirlpool of political affairs and turmoils, except their occasional and isolated participation in them. They exhibited also little ability or virtue even to be enrolled as soldiers, except occasionally, in royal forces and hence, they were shorn off from participation in the contemporary Geo-politics. Though the *Chāmbhārs*, *Mahārs*, *Māngs* etc., resident in remote and inaccessible fastnesses of forested tracts had of late become inhabitants in villages, soldiering or statesmanship remained a far-off dream

for them also. In the rural areas they turned to undignified, strenuous and non-privileged avocations of life or indulged in thefts and dacoities to earn their livelihood which sapped all their time and energy to leave little or no leisure for other civilized walks of life. The traditional *Vaishyas* came to be categorized into two sub-groups, namely, tradesmen and agriculturists. Those, who were preoccupied with commerce and trade and crafts, like goldsmiths, tailors, potmakers, etc. came to be regarded as different and exclusive castes. With their immobility from the traditional occupations, they were also denied opportunities for generations in their participation in political affairs and were least inclined to inculcate a new habit to acquire skill and ability in administrative matters and remained almost completely detached from them. Agriculture was dominated by the *S'udras*, giving rise to a new caste known as *Kunbīs*, already in existence for several hundreds years. The mixed marriages among the nomadic *S'udras* of the times of Pānini and the pre-historic *Nāgās*, the *Vaishyas* and the *Kshatriyas* culminated in the origin of the *Kunbīs* alias *Kulapatīs* in the Mahārās'tra. They hired their labour or, at times took to trade and commerce, or military service and, normally, fell back on cultivation for their livelihood. After seasonal agricultural operations, the *Kunbīs* resorted to soldiering as their off-season jobs. These mercenary hosts of people found employment under any *Muslim* or *Hindu* feudal lords without any qualms of their conscience as to their master, willing to pay them liberally. The proportion of the *Brāhmans* and *Kshatriyas* to the total number of the *Kunbīs* was negligible and formed a microscopic minority in rural areas. The self-less, intellectual and well-to-do group of persons was pronouncedly non-conspicuous.²⁹

In addition to the disintegrating social and economic factors, the prevalence of the diverse sects of Hinduism, namely, *Mahānabhāvpanth*, *Vārkarīpanth*, *Kabīrpanth* and *Rāmdāsī Sumpradāya* criss-crossed the heterogeneity of the population, already, in existence, though these different sectarian creeds did not breed any hostility towards each other to come into open conflicts.³⁰

It is evident from history that the *Marāthā Rājput* families

began to share high offices in the civil and military organisations of the Nizāms'āhī state by slow degrees with their Muslim counterparts. Ambar entertained capable and distinguished Hindus in responsible and high offices of the state. It may be noted that the well-known Māloji and his illustrious son, S'ahji rose to high ranks of power and position among the Nizāms'āhī nobles, during Ambar's regime. "Within its (Ahmadnagar) frontier", observes Kincaid rightly, "the great Marāthā revolution had its birth."³¹ In the lower rung of services, more particularly in rural areas, the Hindu officials seem to have a position of almost exclusive dominance.

Major T.W. Haig has pointedly drawn our attention to the prevalent custom of the Bahmanī kings employing foreign adventurers freely in their army. "These strangers were chiefly fair-skinned foreigners from Persia, Arabia, and Central Asia, bold, energetic, and enterprising, who brought with them followers of their own race. *These strangers were employed as a rule, in preference to . . . Deccanīs, in all difficult enterprises . . .* Many rose to the highest offices in the state, to the prejudice of the native Deccani, who found himself outstripped by the strangers at the Council board as well as in the field. The success of the foreigners was, naturally enough, distasteful to the native-born Indians, and led to recrimination and quarrels, and at length to bloodshed. Deccanīs, as the aggrieved party, being the first aggressors. The ill-feeling between the parties was accentuated by religious difference, for large numbers of foreigners were of the S'īāh sect, while the Deccanīs were generally orthodox Sunnīs".³²

Besides the foreign-born Muslim adventurers, those born of S'udra women constituted another group of Muslims and the third and last section of their population embraced the renegades of other faiths e.g. *Khor, Tambolīs, Patowegār, Mominās, Rangrej, Boh arās, Bhorīs*, etc., not excluding converts from the *Brāhmins* and *Kshatriyas*.

The Africans, with the few exceptions, were Sunnīs. These dark-skinned, unlettered and unassuming Africans were at a disadvantage against the fair, handsome and cultured men of north, and that this cause as well as difference of religion, pro-

moted the former to effect their easy conjunction and cooperation with the Deccanīs. With few exceptions, in the feuds between the Deccanīs and the foreigners the parties consisted of the Deccanīs and the Africans on one side and the Turks, Arabs and Persians on the other. Ill-feeling between the two parties probably persisted from the earliest days of the Bahamanī kingdom, but it was not until a century had passed off that it burst out into open violence.³³

Besides, two other minor sects of Islām seems to have sprung up in the Deccan, *namely*, Mahdavi³⁴ and Kādirī,³⁵ which added to the diversity among the Muslims.

A large number of the Portuguese was in the service of the Nizāms'āhī Kingdom, all of whom had accepted Islām as their new faith and some of them had acquired *mansabdarships* also.³⁶

All these religious schisms continued to be a principal source of perpetual strife till the extinction of independence of the Deccan Sultānates.

The population characteristics of the Nizāms'āhī territory presented a baffling and intriguing task to Ambar who had to pull together the different sections of the people with admirable skill and tact against the rising tide of the Moghul imperialism on the north and also secret or open hostilities of vicinal states, hedged around in the east and south. Ambar's liberal policy of religious tolerance and throwing open opportunities to the Hindus for services in the state achieved at least an outward semblance of unity and integration among the people against a common foe.

II. Geo-Strategy:

The author of the '*Burhān-i-Maāsir*' has enumerated the number and names of forts that Burhān Nizāms'āh II possessed at the time of his death. The author explains that in the Deccan, *Qalāh* means a fort build on a hill or elevated ground, and *Hisār*, a fort on a plain. In map no. IV, all forts of Malik Ambar's regime, that could be indentified and located, have been inserted. An analysis of the map reveals *three* distinct geographical tracts:

(a) The hillstudded Kokan lowland, west of the Sahyādrī mountain barrier, (b) summits of the Sahyādrī Mountain range, and (c) the plateau tract, east of the Sahyādrī mountains.

In the Kokan lowland, two more categories of forts may be added, namely, sea-forts, lying immediately on the sea-board or close to it and piedmont forts, lying at the western foot of the Sahyādrī mountains on the adjoining lowland. The actual sites sea-forts lie at the foot of some rocky headlands as in the case of Bānkot, and some are situated on islands such as Janjirā, and some crown low hills, immediately close to the sea-coast. As the Kokan lowland is studded with hills, forts were built on the plain, such as Karnālā and Shivathar as well as on hills such as Pāli. The location of piedmont forts can be easily made out from the map.

On the summits of the Sahyādrī range, the forts are mostly aligned on its principal watershed, affording relatively easy passage-ways across its formidable and inhospitable barriers. It is interesting to note that most of the forts of the Sahyādrī range lie in close vicinity of ancient caves, which served as store-houses for commercial commodities on high ways of commerce in those days. Obviously, the placement of forts at points of natural defences, on difficult and inaccessible scarped hill-tops or terraced hill-tops preferably bordered by intervening deep valleys is their outstanding characteristic feature. To the east of the Sahyādrī range, sites of forts may be classified into three categories: (a) isolated hill-tops, e.g., Daulatābād, (b) amidst hillocks, e.g., Kandahār, commanding natural routes passing through gaps, and (c) on points of easy river-crossings, e.g. Parendā on the Sinā river.

Common morphological features within forts reveal well-marked cultural characteristics on the landscape, which embody cisterns, tanks or wells for water-supply, *Dārukhānā* or powder chamber, *Ambarkhānā* or grainary or stock of food-stuffs, temple or place of worship, guard-room or guard-rooms, in addition to barracks for the garrison and officers in a number of forts, rock-cut chambers and other parts of forts were used for storage and dungeons were also provided. These forts not only stood as sentinels against unwelcome intruding armies of enemies but

also afforded protection to trading caravans, moving past them along ghāt routes, under the escort provided by the State under *Gujars* between assigned *Chaukīs* or check-posts controlled by *Ghātpāndes*.³⁷

The names of most of the forts seem to be transcribed incorrectly in Persian, some of which have been identified as below:

| | | |
|--------------------|-----|---------------------------------|
| 1. Rowla-Chola | ... | Rāwlā-Jwlā. |
| 2. Kachan | ... | Kānchan. |
| 3. Katra | ... | Kāntrāgad |
| 4. Anki | ... | Ankāi-Tankāi. |
| 5. Rohera | ... | Rohidā. |
| 6. Alang-Karang | ... | Alang-Kulang. |
| 7. Markonda | ... | Mārkandeya. |
| 8. Kohej | ... | Koij/Kohaj. |
| 9. Haholi | ... | Whyāhāli. |
| 10. Karkara | ... | Karhād. |
| 11. Haris | ... | Harisagad. |
| 12. Judhan | ... | Jvdhan |
| 13. Chandher | ... | Chāndwad. |
| 14. Dhorap Wanki | ... | Dhorap-gād. |
| 15. Anhawant | ... | Ahiwantgad. |
| 16. Bola | ... | Wāi. |
| 17. Salapur | ... | Sholāpur |
| *18. Bodhera | ... | Bōdhan. |
| 19. Orka | ... | Ekdarā. |
| 20. Sitonda | ... | Shivathat. |
| *21. Taltam | ... | Talbīd. |
| 22. Muranjan | ... | Murumdeo/Rājgad. |
| * 3. Satkasa | ... | Sapt-Shringī |
| 24. Morkel | ... | Morgirī |
| 25. Halka | ... | Hadsar. |
| 26. Tabakaba | ... | Tringalwādī. |
| 27. Anwas | ... | Ankāi (?). |
| 28. Taltam Batyala | ... | Tāndulwādī. |
| 29. Koldeosher | ... | Koldhair. (n.w. of Chāndwad) |
| 30. Bhima Ankar | ... | Bhimā Shankar. |
| 31. Trimbak Banesa | ... | Trimbak, |

Kondhānā was renamed as Singhgad and the hill-fort of Bhorah was called as Sudhāgad by S'ivāji. The forts of Anjir (probably Ājre or Ājrā), Wanjararai, Kadeval and Tanke remain still unidentified. The locations of forts marked with asterisks have not been inserted on the Fig. IV. All the forts remote from the territory of the Nizāms'āhī kingdom during the regime of Malik Ambar have been omitted from the map.

III. Geo-Economics:

The cultivation of food-grains, oil-seeds, pulses, lesser grains (*Kaddhānya*), narcotics, fibres, spices and flavouring substances constituted the most important economic activity in the Nizāms'āhī kingdom in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. Animal rearing was an adjunct to the main agricultural activity. Obviously, traditional industries and vocations were secondary to the agricultural production and sources of income. It needs hardly to be mentioned that self-contained rural communities formed the main base of economic and social structure in the contemporary period.

A. Agricultural Produce:

Comprehensive and systematic details about the geographical distribution of agricultural products are not available. However, from a list of perquisites of *vatandārs* of Wāi, the following crops seem to have been raised in its environs: Brinjals, and other kinds of vegetables, Sugarcane, Corn, Rice and Jowar.³⁸

Similarly, in the neighbourhood of Anjanwel, south of Dābhol, on the western littoral of the kingdom, a number of lesser grains such as Pawate (*Dolichos Lablab Linn*), Chawali (*Vigna catjang*), Kadave (*Dolichos lignosus*), Kulith (*Dolichos Biflorus*), and pulses such as Urad (*Phaseolus Mungo Roxburghi*), Munga (*Phaseolus radiatus*) tūr or Arhar (*Cajanus Indicus*), in addition to other crops, namely, Paddy, Turmeric, Fibre known as Tāg (jute?), and Sugarcane were cultivated.³⁹

The culture of fruits included Plantains, Coconuts, Mangoes, Jack-fruits, (particularly on the Kokan lowland), Water-melons

and Lemons. The production of Betel-leaves seems to be a specialised culture.

Paddy seems to have a wide-spread cultivation on the Kokan lowland which is referred to in the environs of Peth Rustām-bād⁴⁰ (Māmle Murtizābād *ahas* Chaul, Shāhbāz⁴¹ (*Tarf* Srigāon and Māmle Chaul) and Chāndwad. Similarly, spices, and flavouring substances such as Cinnamon, Garlic, Nutmeg, Pepper, Turmeric, Cumin, Clove, etc. seem to have been raised on the Kokan lowland. Narcotic substances such as Opium (probably from Ulnābād), Tobacco (near Chandwad or Chāndor) and *Bhāng* (hemp?) were raised by cultivation. Sesamum, Kardi (*Carthamus tinctorius*), Mustard, etc. were the cultivated oil-seeds, which were the common source of edible oil.

The expansion of cultivated land was effected by colonization of virgin lands, and plantation of gardens was promoted to which following references are found in contemporary documents:

1. The erection of gardens in *Tarf* Khedebāre in 1606 A.D.⁴² (Selections from the *Peshwā Daftar-XXXI*, Art. 4; *P.S.S.*, 2376).

2. The colonization in the valley of the Muthā River. (Selections from the *Peshwa Daftar-XXXI*, Art 10.).

Chaul and Bassein witnessed a heavy concentration of palm groves and orchards and coconut plantations which unhappily led to disputes about their ownership between the Portuguese and the subjects of the Nizāms'āhi kingdom in the environs of the above-mentioned towns.⁴³

B. Animal-Rearing:

For animal-rearing grass and *Kadbi* (dried stems of *Jowār* and *Bājra*) and husks of grains and pulses served as common fodder. Explicit mention of the rearing of cattle, buffaloes, goats, sheep and horses occurs in the extant contemporary documents. *Peth* Rustamābād (*Māmle* Murtizābād *alias* Chaul) was a mart for cattle, while buffaloes as well as cattle were sold at Shāhbāz⁴⁵ (*Tarf* Srigāon and *Māmle* Chaul), sheep and goats were available in the vicinity of Wāi,⁴⁶ and horses could

be purchased at Chāndwad⁴⁷ and Chaul. Apart from bullocks and buffaloes used as domestic animals, horses were employed for travel and transport of goods and in the cavalry of the kingdom. Caravans of bullocks were in use for the transport of goods and materials to trading centres as well as military camps, as in the past. Bullocks were harnessed to carts, used for the traffic of commercial goods and commodities.

C. Industries:

I. Agriculture-Based:

The extraction of oils from oilseeds and copra by oil-presses was one of common agriculture-based industries. Animal fat was supplied from the milk of cows and she-buffaloes. Probably, soaps were made from vegetable oils. Gur-making and preparation of molasses from sugar-cane juice appears to be a widespread industry. Gur seems to have been refined for making of sugar. Obviously, cleaning and husking of food-grains and pulses and processing of plant fibres were ancillary industries of agriculture.

II. Forest-Based:

In the forest-based industries may be included matmaking,⁴⁸ and collection of lac, gums and chironji⁴⁹ (Kernels of *Buchanania Latifolia*). Probably, basketry was one of the leading industries of this category,⁵⁰ while on the Kokan coast navigational vessels were also built.⁵¹ Chaul was a boat-building centre in the Nizāms'āhī kingdom for which wood was obtained from Kalyān and Bhivandī via Bassein.⁵²

III. Fishing and Salt-Making:

Near Chaul fishing seems to have been a flourishing occupation.⁵³ Salt-making from brine was another occupation on the Kokan coast. Perhaps, Mithagāvathāne⁵⁴ refers to salt-pans close to Pen, Panvel and their proximity on coastal tracts.

IV. Textiles and Fibres:

Silk, cotton and woollen textiles were manufactured on hand-looms. Silk was woven at and environs of Chaul.⁵⁵ Chaul seems to be a centre for the manufacture of coloured cloths in the contemporary period.⁵⁶ Kalyān and Bhivandī were leading cotton-weaving centres,⁵⁷ where bleached and white cloths, *Sele* and *Kochakīyā* or turbans were particularly manufactured. There are a few notices of the articles manufactured out of fibres such as coconut coir and *gonapāt* (jute cloth?), ropes or strings.⁵⁸ The explicit reference to rolls of *newār* (cotton-strips of coarse cotton yarn for bedsteads)⁵⁹ may be treated as allied to cardage industry.

V. Miscellaneous industries and occupations:

A large variety of other industries covered the making of glass, bedsteads, latterns, dishes, combs for women, and leather goods.⁶⁰ To other industries, which might have been in a flourishing state, there are no references in extant documents.

There is a distinct reference to tailors, carpenters, jewellers, bronzeworkers, blacksmiths, dyers of cloth and garments and cobblers which points to the conclusion that sewing of garments, jewellery, making of bronze vessels for domestic purposes, dyeing of textiles and garments and leather-working were some of the remaining occupations.

From references to *Tāfedārs* and *Jarībdārs*, it may be surmised that some individuals secured their livelihood by procuring rights of maintaining boats at points of crossings on rivers and collecting fares from passengers and for transshipment of goods, including commercial commodities and measurement of lands on payment of specified rates respectively.⁶² Rural marketing, obtaining in the contemporary period, seems to be one of the sources of livelihood to a section of people, engaged in it.

VI. Rural Marketing:

We come across several writs of instructions to local

officers to the effect that traders should be permitted to carry on trading activities and to move to their proposed or intended destinations for this purpose with their commodities uninterrupted or without harrassment for extra payment of cesses and taxes, over and above prescribed rates.⁶³ A brief survey of periodic markets, based on available documents, will spotlight the local commercial activities of the contemporary times in the Nizāms'āhī kingdom.

(a) *Peth Rustamābād*:

It appears that the market at *Peth Rustamābād of Māmle Murtazābād* *allas* Chaul was closed down, sometime in the regime of Malik Ambar due to disturbed conditions. Its revival was effected in 1643-44 A.D. with the tax-structure prevalent in his times. There were former store-houses and ware-houses for commercial commodities at the place at the time of the revival of the market.⁶⁴

The following commodities were offered for sale at the market-place:

| Sr. No. | Commodities | Remarks, if any. |
|---------|--|---|
| 1. | Cattle | Provision for cattle feed ordered. |
| 2. | Rice | Transported in sea and river vessels. |
| 3. | Silk | Brought from Revādandā and Chaul. |
| 4. | Cotton | Sold by Cotton-carders, who held an exclusive right for the sale of this commodity. |
| 5. | Nāchanī (Rāgi) | (ELEUSINE CORACANA) |
| 6. | Vāṇa (Possibly, <i>Phoneix Dactylifera</i> .) | Brought from other neighbouring kingdoms. |
| 7. | Khumāsa | Cosmetics. |
| 8. | Tāfutā | Tafta |

From Astamī, Rohe (Rohā) and Bīrwādī or *Tarf Rājāpurī*, kene (*Commilena Bengalensis*), rice, cloth and *nilotarī* (blue

picces of cloth)⁶⁶ were available at the place. It appears that the place was rehabilitated and resettled by a few families and new officers were appointed, such as *Mahājan* and *Kulkarnī*, *Chaugale* and *S'eta* for reorganisation of the market-place. The organisers of the market-place were vested with power and authority to levy fines for criminal acts, such as theft, murder, etc. The limits of the market-place were spelled out in the document. For promoting marketing activities, debts of debtors were ordered to be deferred for payment for a span of five years. The office work of the market was entrusted to *S'ete*, *Mahājan*, and *Chaugale* cojointly. For rehabilitation of the market-place, cesses and taxes were reduced to half and one-fourth of the usual prescribed rates.

(b) *Shāhābāj*:

There is another tax-deed which refers to the market at *Shāhābāj*, *Tarf Srigāon* and *Māmle Cheul (Chaul)*. It appears that the collection of taxes was formed out to the highest bidder. The following items were available at the market-centre:

Sr.

| No. | Items | Remarks, if any. |
|-----|------------------------|--|
| A. | Bondsmen & Slaves. | |
| B. | He and She buffaloes. | Including Milch buffaloes. |
| C. | Cattle. | |
| D. | Cloth: | |
| | (a) <i>Ghatī</i> | |
| | (b) <i>Asta Putalī</i> | Bride's wedding garment. |
| | (c) <i>Patāvā</i> | Multi-printed silk cloth. |
| | (d) <i>Tafatā</i> | |
| | (e) <i>Khārān</i> | Red-coloured Khādī? |
| | (f) <i>Musadar</i> | Printed Cloth? |
| | (g) Rugs | |
| | (h) <i>Godadī</i> | Grazy quilt garment of cotton & silk. |
| | (i) Bleached Cloth | |
| | (j) <i>Sele</i> | Ornamental cloth for women's upper body, made of silk. |

- (k) Kochkiyā Turban.
- (l) Gonapāt Jute cloth.
- (m) Purtakālī Wholly black cloth.
- (n) Ornamented Selā.
- (o) Sārīs
- (p) Dhotīs
- (q) Coloured Cloth
- (r) Lugdī
- (s) Pātakī (Patakā possibly = Turban)
- (t) Pitāambar Literally yellow cloth.
- (u) Kada A kind of silk dhoti with borders.
- (v) Caps, small & large Including velvet caps.
- (w) Fulapagar Chintz?

E. Grains and Vegetables: Harvested commodities.

- (a) Wheat
- (b) Gram
- (c) Mūnga (Muga) *Phaseolus radiatus.*
- (d) Tur (Arhar)
- (e) Peas
- (f) Kuruda (?) May be Kulīth.
- (g) Urad (*Phaleous Mungo/Roxburghi*)
- (h) Masūr (*Lens Esculenta*)
- (i) Varane (Pāwate) (*Dolichos Lablab*)
- (j) Carrots (*Dolichos Lablab*)
- (k) Radishes

F. Flavouring Substances:

- (a) Nutmegs.
- (b) Māyaphal
- (c) Hingul (*Febula Linn.*)
- (d) Manasil (*Commiphera Mukul*)
- (e) Hinga *Ferula Foetida (Asafetida).*
- (f) Jāyapatrī
- (g) Silāras
- (h) Cloves
- (i) Sendur

(j) *Chola* Kāle (āṇī) Pāndhare Mire (Black & White Pepper).

(k) *Gur/Jaggery & Molasses.*

G. *Miscellaneous:*

1. Camphor
2. Mercury
3. Pepper
4. Glass
5. Tumeric
6. *Sūrya-khār* Salt-petre.
7. Cumin
8. *Kil* *Gosypium Ver. assanica.(?)*
9. *Chadarus* Resin.
10. *Bhāng* *Cannabis Sativa*,
11. Opium
12. *Shrīchand Sandals*
13. Rice
14. Coconuts
15. Tamarind
16. *Methi* *Trigonella Foenum Graecum Linn.*
17. Saffron
18. *Kelhe* Tin
19. *Begad* Very thin coloured metal sheet.
20. Chaul Gown
21. *Majlsta* (Indian Madder) (*Rubia Cardifolia*)
22. Garlic
23. *Dhaiti chī sāl* Bark of some tree.
24. *Fasaki* rice from *Kulbiyā*
25. Bedsteads
26. Latterns
27. Dishes
28. Combs for women
29. Basketry articles
30. Water-melons
31. Logs of wood and fuel

- | | |
|------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 32. Coconuts | |
| 33. <i>Biyāchī pāte</i> | Unidentified. |
| 34. Jack-fruits | |
| 35. <i>Irde & Fahire</i> | Lemon Fahire remain unidentified. |
| 36. Sugarcane | |
| 37. Yarn (cotton?) | |
| 38. Jute | |
| 39. Soap | |
| 40. Plantains | |
| 41. Betel leaves | |
| 42. Onions | |
| 43. Ginger | |
| 44. <i>Majar</i> (Māzū?) | <i>Quercus Lustanica.</i> |
| 45. <i>Layha</i> | Reeds. |
| 46. <i>Natani</i> (Nāgli) | A kind of cereal. |
| 47. Fishing nets | |
| 48. Lac | <i>Tachardia (Certaria) Lacca.</i> |
| 49. Fish | |
| 50. Navigational vessels | |
| 51. <i>Simvārā</i> | Large door frames. |
| 52. Goats | |
| 53. Fuel | Transported in vessels. |
| 54. <i>Abīr</i> | Incense. |
| 55. <i>Gulāl</i> | Red Powder. |
| 56. Copra | |
| 57. <i>Poinādī</i> | Coir ropes. |
| 58. <i>Khār</i> | Salts and alkalis. |
| 59. Bamboo and Bamboo strips | |
| 60. <i>Tādī</i> | Palm juice. |
| 61. Footwears | |
| 62. <i>Sendūr</i> | Red power for Norship. |
| 63. Swords(?) | |
| 64. Kites | |
| 65. <i>Gur</i> | Jaggery and Molasses. |

Miscellaneous articles displayed at the market-place for sale embrace straight long bamboos, bundles of green grass, ropes

of navigational vessels, half-tanned leather, sail-poles, whips, *mādhī* (juice of palm), coir ropes, sesamum (*Tīl* in Marāthī) large and small sized wooden boxes, hand boxes, opium and other unidentified items include *Kuta*, *Keria*, *Sakatanīs* (Carpentry goods?), *Hirvīs* and *Bhikāsānī*.

The close study of the tax-structure (*Kānu Jakāt*) reveals that market-cesses were collected both in kind (*vāṇagī*) and cash, according to the mode of transport of commodities, such as head-loads, shoulder loads, vessels (small or large) and also on imports and exports. It seems that from purchasers of newly constructed vessels purchase-tax was collected.⁶⁸

(c) *Kasbā Chāndwad*:

In an unpublished document on the tax-structure of *Kasbā Chāndwad*, *Māmla Jafārābād* is embodied the commodities available for sale at the place which are enumerated below:⁶⁹

Sr.

| No. | Commodities | Remarks, if any. |
|-----|-----------------------|--|
| 1. | Alum | |
| 2. | <i>Hinga</i> | See botanical name in the <i>supra</i> . |
| 3. | <i>Hinguli</i> | Vermillion. |
| 4. | Opium | From Ulnābād. |
| 5. | <i>Jāyapatrī</i> | Mace. |
| 6. | Tumeric | |
| 7. | Cinnamon | |
| 8. | <i>Pi(m)palmūl</i> | |
| 9. | Catechu | |
| 10. | Garlic | |
| 11. | <i>Chironjī</i> | Marathi— <i>Chārolī</i> . |
| 12. | Gums | |
| 13. | Raw and green mangoes | |
| 14. | <i>Bājṛā</i> | <i>Sajgure</i> in the original. |
| 15. | Wheat | |
| 16. | Gram | |
| 17. | <i>Masūr</i> | <i>Lens Esculenta</i> . |
| 18. | Betal leaves | |
| 19. | Nutmegs | |

- | | | |
|-----|------------------------------|---|
| 20. | Copra | |
| 21. | Dried dates | |
| 22. | <i>Sotī or sunt</i> | Processed ginger. |
| 23. | Pepper | |
| 24. | Cumin | |
| 25. | Gur/Jaggery & Molasses | |
| 26. | Soap | |
| 27. | Rice-balls (<i>Mudani</i>) | For want of hotels; perhaps, boiled rice was sold to the needy. |
| 28. | <i>Vidāl</i> | <i>Legumi-nosai.</i> |
| 29. | <i>Urad</i> | <i>Phaleous Mungo/Roxburghii.</i> |
| 30. | Rice | |
| 31. | <i>Kulūth</i> (Horse-gram) | <i>Dolichos bifeorus.</i> |
| 32. | Resin | |
| 33. | <i>Tīl</i> | <i>Sesamum indicum.</i> |
| 34. | Salt | |
| 35. | <i>Varāyā</i> | <i>Polichos Lablab.</i> |
| 36. | <i>Kardi</i> | <i>Carthamus Tinctorium.</i> |
| 37. | <i>Khurasānī</i> | <i>Guizotia Abyssinica.</i> |
| 38. | <i>Khirāde</i> | Possibly <i>Kharāte</i> =brooms. |
| 39. | <i>Methī</i> | See the Botanical name in the <i>supra</i> . |
| 40. | Mustard | |
| 41. | Bullocks | |
| 42. | She-Buffaloes | |
| 43. | Fine cloth | |
| 44. | <i>Mūnga</i> | |
| 45. | <i>Math</i> | <i>Phaseolus aconitifolius.</i> |
| 46. | <i>Ambādī</i> | <i>Crotalaria Juncea.</i> |
| 47. | Linseed | |
| 48. | <i>Surji</i> | |
| 49. | Māres | |
| 50. | <i>Sigru or Yāredī</i> | Young one of a mare. |
| 51. | Small or big horses. | |
| 52. | <i>Barī</i> (Van/Varai?) | |
| 53. | Tobacco | |
| 54. | Rugs | |
| 55. | Iron filings | |

- | | | |
|-----|-------------------------|--|
| 56. | Cotton | <i>Rui</i> in Marathi meaning seed-removed cotton. |
| 57. | Husks of grains | . |
| 58. | Dried fishes | |
| 59. | <i>Sendūr</i> | . |
| 60. | Cardmoms | |
| 61. | Wax | |
| 62. | Sugar | |
| 63. | Seeds of <i>bhilawā</i> | (<i>bibā</i> in Marathi). |
| 64. | Plantains/Bananas | |

(d) *Chaul*:

Numerous varieties of commodities available for sale and export, mentioned in the chapter on Malik Ambar and the Portuguese, serve to throw into bold relief the commercial significance of Chaul. Some additional details, embodied in Durate Barbosa's description is highly interesting. He writes: ". in the months of December, January, February and March, there are many ships from Malabār country and all other parts which arrive with cargoes. That is to say, those of Malabār laden with coconuts, arecas, spices, drugs, palm, sugar, emery, and there they make their sails for the continent and the kingdom of Cambay; and the ships of Cambay come there to meet them laden with cotton stuffs and many other goods, which are available in Malabār, and these are *bartered* for the goods which have come from Malabār country. And on return voyage they fill their ships with wheat, vegetables, millets, rice sesame, oil of sesame, of which there is much in the country and these Malabarese also buy many pieces of muslin for women's head-dress and beyranies(?) of which there are plenty in the kingdom. A large quantity of copper is sold in this port of Chaul and at a high price, for it is worth twenty ducatas the hander-weight, or more because in the interior money is made of it and it is also used throughout the country for cooking pots. There is also a great consumption of quick-silver and vermilion for the interior and for the kingdom of Gujarāt. Copper, quick-silver and vermilion is brought to this place by Malabār merchants, who get it from factories of the king of they Portugal and they

get more of it by way of Makkah, which comes from Diu. These people wear the beyranics put on for a few days nearly in the raw state and afterwards they bleach them and make them white and gum them to sell abroad and thus some met with amongst them which are torn. In the port of Chaul, there are few inhabitants except during three or four months of the year, the time of putting in cargo, when there arrive merchants from all the neighbourhood and they make their bargains during this period and despatch their goods and after that to return to their homes, until the next season, so that the place is like a *fatr* in those months. There is a Moorish gentleman as governor of the place, who is a vassal of the king of the Deccan, and collects his revenues and accounts to him for them.⁷⁰

(ii) *Coutrā Umbare:*

Besides these market-places, there is a pointed reference to *Coutrā Umbare* (*Umbariyā*) of *Sammat/Sarkār* Junnar as a prosperous market-place.⁷¹ This place prospered to such an extent as to yield a revenue of 9 lakhs and hence acquired the name of *nav-lākh Umbare* (*i.e.*, Umbare yielding 9 lakhs) early in the eighteenth century.⁷²

(iii) *Routes:*

There are a few references to routes and movement of goods and men from particular regions and places and modes of transport. Routes of merchants to Panvel, Pen, Kalyān, Bhivandī, Revādandā, Sāngavī, Virjī, Kokaṇ, Tal-Kokaṇ, Ghāts, seaside and Havelī (in the vicinity of Poonā?) from and to Chaul occur in a contemporary document.⁷³ Modes of transport of merchandise mentioned are boats (known as *galbats* and *hodis*), particularly for bulk transport of rice, fuel and wood, caravans (of bullocks), horse-back, *dolī* (shoulder loads), boxes (of cobblers and sellers of footwears) and head-loads.⁷⁴ Metal-workers purchased iron, and others bought beads, molasses from the Bālāghāt region and also copper, scrap metals, tin, lead, brass and bronze from Bālāghāt region,⁷⁵ for sale at Chaul.

(iv) *Urban Centres and Routes:*(a) *Classification:*

The suffix or prefix, namely, *Peth* is indicative of market or commercial centres, *Kasbā* signifies a township and *Bandar* is suggestive of river or sea port or harbour. These three prefixes and suffixes of place-names point to the definite conclusion that at least three functional characters of urban centres were recognised in the contemporary period. It cannot be ascertained with any degree of certainty what was the criterion for determining the status of any settlement to be ranked among urban centres. The only choice left to any scholar is to accept the recorded names of settlements having the epithets of '*Peth*' and '*Kasbā*' or '*Kasabā*' as urban centres of the contemporary period.

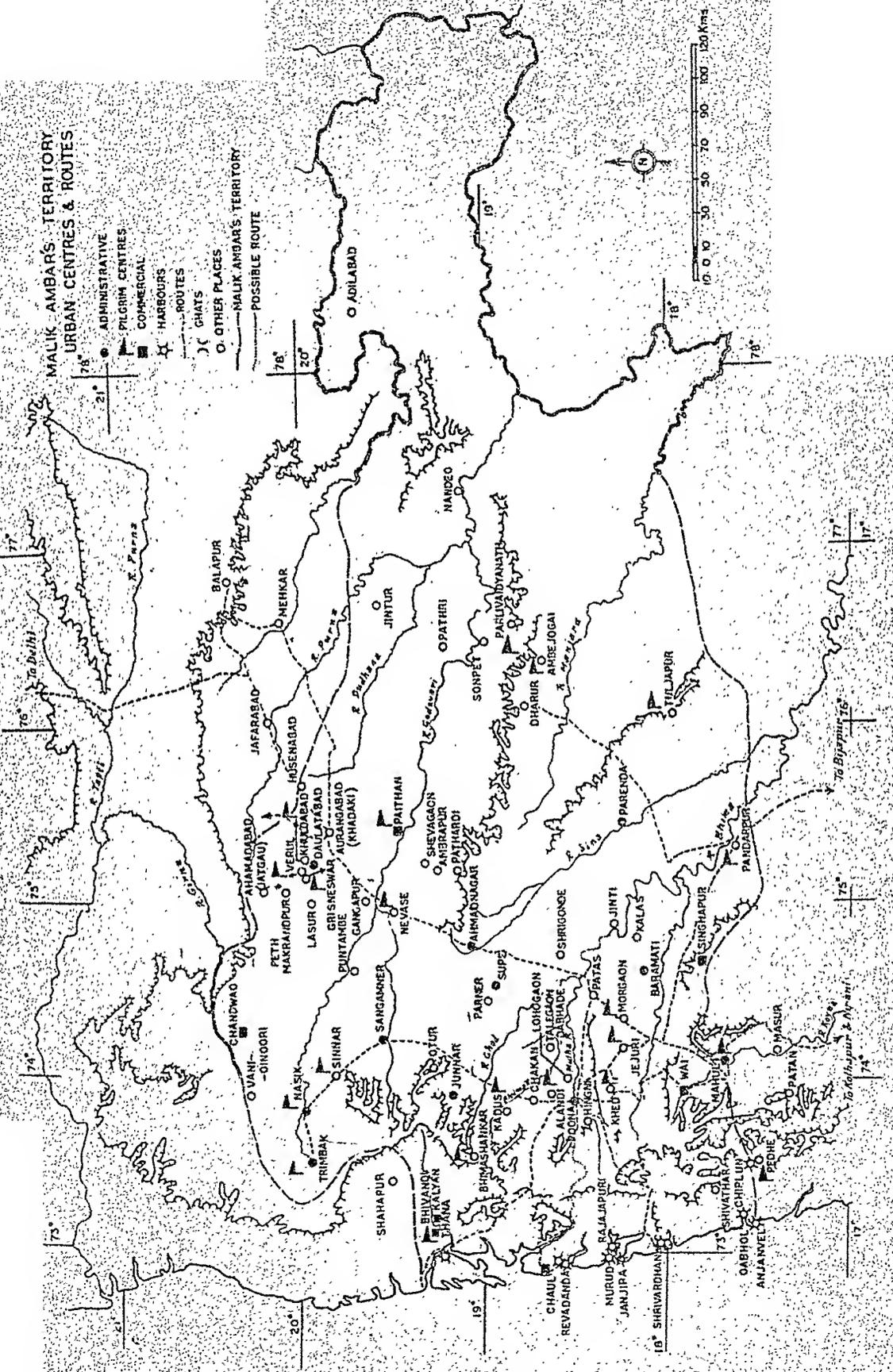
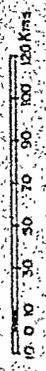
To these three functional categories of urban centres may be added administrative centres which included the State capital and headquarters of *Parganā*, *Sarkār*, *Māmle*, *Sammāt*, *Tajf* and similar administrative units.

On the Fig. III some unclassified towns also are inserted, as no positive information for their classification is available and, most probably, most of them were predominantly residential without any other distinguishing functional characteristic and some were regional centres for the collection and distribution of agricultural produce of their proximity except for Ahmadnagar and Khadakī (now, known as Aurangābād), most of the towns in the Nizām'sūbhī kingdom appear to be small in areal extent and population size. Alimad Nizāms'āh, the founder of the dynasty build his capital at the village, known as Bingar (Bhingar), situated equidistant between Junnar and Daulatābād. "So great exertions were made in erecting buildings by the king and his dependents, that in a short space of two years the city rivalled Bagadād and Caïro ...".⁷⁶

After the fall of Ahmadnagar in 1600 A.D., a new capital city was erected at Khadakī in about 1610 A.D., renamed Aurangābād, after its capture by Aurangzeb in 1633 A.D. It was claimed to be 'the largest city in the East in the seventeenth century and was as large as what modern Calcuttā today is'.⁷⁷

**MALIK AMBAR'S TERRITORY
URBAN CENTRES & ROUTES**

- ADMINISTRATIVE
- ◉ PILGRIM CENTRES
- COMMERCIAL
- ⊛ HARBOURS
- ROUTES
- ⌒ CHATS
- OTHER PLACES
- MALIK AMBAR'S TERRITORY
- POSSIBLE ROUTE



Apart from commercial and administrative towns, ports and harbours and other townships, there are direct references to industrial centres as Chaul, concentrating on weaving of silk and coloured cloths, Kalyāṇ and Bhivandī, specialising in the manufacture of bleached cottons, *sele* and turbans.⁷⁸ At Chaul the construction of navigational vessels was also carried on.⁷⁹

In addition to nine ports, inserted on Fig. V, Kalyāṇ and Bhivandī were river ports close to the Ulhās river. Similarly, Chiplūṅ was a river port on the Vāsiti river, to which entry could be made from the sea-port of Dābhol. Chaul was by far the most flourishing port of the Nizāms'āhr kingdom, followed by Dābhol, which was captured in 1625 A.D. The off-shore island of Janjirā falls in a category by itself, as it served as the naval base of the naval fleet of the kingdom. The remaining ports were predominantly commercial in their function, except Chaul, Kalyāṇ and Bhivandī which also shared industrial function in a marked degree. Since a brief survey of a few commercial centre has been attempted in the earlier section on Geoeconomics, no further analysis is, now, necessary.

A close scrutiny of Fig. V reveals a heavy concentration of towns, west of the Sīnā river and the Purnā-Godāvarī doāb. The distributional pattern depicted on the map may not match with actual spatial distribution of towns, then obtaining, as all historical documents may not have been unearthed so far as to give a complete and comprehensive list of all existing towns. Sites of urban centres, excluding sea and river ports, with a few representative examples may be classified as follows:

- (1). *Piedmont*: Bhīmāshankar, Otūr, Junnar, Hingūī. These are more or less contact towns between two differing regions.
- (2). *River banks*: Sangamner, Nevāse Nāśik, Puntāambe, Paithan, Sonpet, etc. Most of these are religious and pilgrim centres, located preferably on convex banks.
- (3). *Gaps*: Khadakī, Daulafābād, Kandahār, etc. Such a site had a distinct strategic and defensive value.
- (4). *Spur-edges*: Singnāpur, Dharūr, etc. These sites also partake of defensive points on account of their ability to command an extensive view of adjacent country from them.

- (5). *Doabs*: Sinnar, Pārner, Supe, Jejuri, etc. These may be regional centres for the collection and distribution of agricultural produce of their surroundings in rich and fertile tracts.

It is surprising to note that there are no recorded typical confluence towns with the solitary exception of Cangāpur on the map. This category of sites bears a close resemblance to towns on river-banks or those situated in doābs.

(b). *Pilgrim or Religious Centres*:

Religious and pilgrim towns fall in a category of urbanisation by themselves. Only those places to which direct or indirect references occur in the contemporary historical records have been plotted on Fig. V. In following table, the available names of deities at place concerned have been mentioned:

| No. | Name | Deity/Saint. |
|-----|---|---|
| 1. | Thānā (Old name: Sthānaka). | Unrecorded. |
| 2. | Bhīmāshankar. | Mahādeo. |
| 3. | Khed (Khetaka). | Siddeshwar. ⁸⁰ (Fair held on Mahās'ivaratri). |
| 4. | Māhulī. | Unrecorded. |
| 5. | Kadūs. | —do— |
| 6. | Ālandī. | Tomb of Gyāneshwar. |
| 7. | Nevāse (Nidhīwās). | Mahāmāyā Devi. |
| 8. | Jejuri. | Khandobā. |
| 9. | Morgāon. | Ganapati. |
| 10. | Nāsīk. | Kālārām. |
| 11. | Sinnar (Sindhīnagar). (Must have been an extensive town in the Yadava Period). | Aies'wara. ⁸¹ (Fair held in Vais'ākha at the confluence of three rivers, Dev, S'iva and Saraswatī). |
| 12. | Paithan (Pratisthān). | |
| 13. | Pārli. | Vaidyanāth. |
| 14. | Āmbejogāī. | Ambe. |
| 15. | Tuljāpur. | Bhavānī. |

- | | | |
|-----|--------------------------|--|
| 16. | Pandharpur. | Vithobā (Fair held on Kārtik Dark fortnight-11th). |
| 17. | Verul. | Grisnēs'war. |
| 18. | Khuldābād. ⁸² | Muslim religious centre in the Deccan. |

Pedhe lay close to the southern boundary of the Nizāms'āhī kingdom. It is famous as Parus'rām-Ks'tra. The above list does not exhaust completely the names of all religious and fair centres, as there may be less-known and unrecorded places of this category.

(c). Routes were merely tracks on the ground, periodically maintained in a state of repairs by the State. Most of the routes lay along or close to rivers as they offered easy passage-ways for commercial traffic in regions of prosperous economic conditions with their superior traffic-generating capacity. Most of routes seem to be aligned on river-terraces or piedmont zones to avoid swampy or slushy ground. The placement of routes on margins of forested tracts could facilitate fodder-supply to transport animals *en-route*. At junctions of routes, their destinations were indicated on inscribed stone-blocks or pillars. As routes were infested with highway robbers, the State undertook the responsibility of providing escort to the circulation of animals or throngs of bullock-carts. The routes athwart the Sahyādri range lay from the east to the Kokan lowland through numerous passes, normally guarded by *Chaukīs* or check-posts and forts. Some of these passes could be negotiated by laden bullocks and horses, and even carts, but others had only footpaths.⁸³

A minute examination of the map (Figure V) unfolds that the environs of Poonā constituted by far the most outstanding nodal centre with routes radiating in all directions, followed by the next significant hub of routes converging on Khadaki.

The ancient routes, aligned past Junnar into the Kokan lowland, passing through Paithan and Thair to the mouth of the Krisnā river, still remained frequented by which the Dutch traveller, Van Ravestyn journeyed to Malik Ambar's camp for an interview with the latter in 1615 A.D.⁸⁴ There are recorded references to the following trade routes also:

- (i) Virji Route—(S.C.S.-XI, Q.B.I.S.M.-XXXIII-1-4, 2).

- (ii) Hātlotā, Pārgḥāt, Pāṇī (?), Pāli, Āmbe Pār (?), Wāi (*Ibid*).
- (iii) The Khāndesha Route: Surat, Navāpur, Nandurbār, Dondāichā, S'indakheda, Thālner, Chopadā, Sāngavī, Nhāvī, Burhānpur to Delhi. (Seventh Annual Proceedings of *B.I.S.M.*, 13).

In conclusion, it may be stated that the details incorporated in this chapter give fair glimpses, though not complete and exhaustive account of Geo-politics, occupations, industries, marketing activities, character and pattern of urbanisation and other cultural features in the Nizāms'āhī kingdom during Malik Ambar's regime.

References and notes:

1. *H.R.M.P.I.-III*, 312.
2. *T.J.-II*, 220; Supplement, 1933-34, Plate VIIa, Inscription on the fort of Antur in *Epigraphicā Indo-Malomicā*.
3. *Monques de Reino*, No. 8, Ano, 1601 to 1602, Fol. 18.
4. *Ibid*. Ano de 1595 to 1598, Fol 629.
5. *H.R.M.P.I.-III*, 313.
6. *Ibid*.
7. In a document of religious grant by Māloji Rāje Bhonsle and Bābājī Konler Diwān in 1005 A.H./1596-97 A.D., there is a reference to land south of the Choulkar (Chelekar), which lends support to the conclusion that the territory in the vicinity of Chaul was lost by Nizāms'āhī kingdom before 1597 A.D. (*M.R.S.M.*, 80).
8. *Documentos Remetidos da Índia*, No. 1115, dated the 20th Feb., 1619, Tomo, Lisbon, 1935.
9. *H.R.M.P.I.-III*, 299. The alleged complicity of Chand Bibī with the Moghuls inflamed the anger of the people which led ultimately to her murder.
10. *B.M.*, 345. (*I.A.*, 1923).
11. There are two groups of twelve Māwals as follows:
 - (i). *The Northern Māwals*: 1. Junnar, 2. Minnar, 3. Ghodaner, 4. Sinner, 5. Bhāmner, 6. Jāmner, 7. Shivner, 8. Pimpalner, 9. Pārner, 10. Sangamner, 11. Bhimner, & 12. Akolner. (ii) *The Southern Mawals*: 1. Andarmāwal, 2. Nānemāwal, 3. Pavanmāwal (sometimes written as Paun), 4. Ghotanmāwal, 5. Paundmāwal, 6. Mosekhare, 7. Muthekhore, 8. Gujanmāwal, 9. Welwandmawal, 10. Bhoramāwal,

11. Shivatmāwal & 12. Hirdasmāwal.

A close scrutiny of the Geographic position of māwals reveals their enclosed, inaccessible and forested character of the valleys of streams, east of the Sahyādri Range, close to its major watershed. Normally, the traditional region of the twelve māwals to which frequent references occur in the history of Mahārās'tra is the southern group.

12. The plain tract in the proximity of Poonā.
13. West of the traditional region of Kaling, east of the Bālāghāt Plateau, south of the Godāvārī river and north of the Telgu Codes of Anantpur-Cuddāpāh area.
14. *M.A.D.S. (Q.B.I.S.M.-XI-1)*.
15. *F.R. Surat*. Vol. 1, P.9. Nov. 29, 1620 A.D.
16. *M.A.D.S. (Q.B.I.S.M.-XI-1)*.
17. Abstracts of Letters from Robert Jefferies to the Surat Factors Oct. & Nov., 1621 during his mission to Malīk Ambar. (*F.R. Miscellaneous*, Vol. I, P. 91).
18. W. Foster: "*Sir Thomas Roe's Embassy in India*", p. 366. (To the Factors at Surat, Add. Mss., 6115, F. 165).
19. *F.A. (S.C.V.S.-III, Q.B.I.S.M.-XXIV-4)*.
20. *S.C.S.-I*, 15.
21. *S.C.S.-IX*, Art. 18, *Q.B.I.S.M.-XXIV-4*.
22. According to Firishtāh, III. 191-3, to the existing territory of the Nizāms'āhī Kingdom were added (1). Chāwund, Lohgur, Toong (?), Tikonā (?), Kondhānā (Sinhgad), Poorandhar, Bhorup (Bhogur ?), Joodhan (Jivdhan), Murunjan, Maholyn (Māhulī), and Pāly (Pāli); (2) Kokaṅ and (3) Indāpur.
23. *Ibid*, 201.
24. *Ibid*, 313; *A.N.-1*, 1188 states that sarkar Udesā (Orissā), Dhārwar (Dhārūr), and part of Bīr were left to the Nizāms'āh. Orissā and Dhārwar are not possible tracts left to the Nizāms'āh but Ausā and Dhārūr are likely.
25. *H.R.M.P.I.-III*, 320.
26. Seeley's *Wonders of Elorā*, 357-59.
27. James Burgess: *Report on the Antiquities of the Bīdar and Aurangābād districts*, 59.
28. *Maāsir-i-Rahīnī*, -II, 527.
29. *R.M.V.C.*, Introduction by V.K. Rājwāde, 44-46.
30. C.G. Karve, S.A. Joglekar and Y.G. Joshi: *Mahārāstra Parichaya*. (In Marāthī) (Prasād Prakas'an, 1954).
31. *H.M.P.-I*, 67.
32. *H.L.D.*, 4.
33. *Ibid*, 4-5.
34. *Ibid*, 166.
35. *M.R.S.M.* 150.
36. *J.I.H.*, 1938, 148.

37. *Q.B.I.S.M.*-XXXV-I & 2, 5.
38. *M.I.S.*-XX, Art. 174.
39. The First Annual Report (*B I S.M.*, *Anjonvel Chī Vahlwāt*).
40. *S.C.S.-X*, Art. 3, (*Q.B.I.S.M.*-XXIV-3 & 4).
41. *Ibid.*
42. Unpublished document. (Courtesy of *B.I.S.M.*).
43. *Ibid.*
44. Aotonio Bocarro: *Decadas*, Ch. CLXXII.
45. *S.C.S.-X*, Art. 3, (*Q.B.I.S.M.*-XXIV, 26).
46. *M.I.S.*-XX, Art. 174.
47. Unpublishment document, (See *supra*).
48. *S C S.-XI*, 304.
49. *Ibid.*
50. *Ibid.*
51. *Documentos Remetidos da India*, No. II15, dated Feb. 26, 1619 A.D.
52. *S.C.S.-XI*, Art. 3, (*Q.B.I.S.M.*-XXXV-3 & 4).
53. *Ibid.*
54. *Ibid.*
55. *Ibid.*
56. *Ibid.*
57. *Ibid.*
58. *Ibid.*
59. *Ibid.*
60. *S.C.S.-IX*, (*Q.B.I.S.M.*-XXIV-4, Art. 16).
61. *S.C.S.-X* (*Q.B.I.S.M.*-XXXV-3 & 4).
62. *Ibid.*
63. *S.C.S.-IX*, Art. 40, (*Q.B.I.S.M.*-XXIV-4).
64. *S.C.S.-X*, Art 3 (*Q.B I S.M* -XXXV-3-4).
65. Nilotarī seems to be blue cloth kept on Shoulders on the occasion of funeral rites.
66. A variety of sandal woods is referred to, namely, Malyāgiri, Subhadhūnī, Pachkanī and Pantanga (*Caesalpinia Sappan*). By Sanskrit authors *Sappan* is often treated as a form or quality of sandal wood.
67. *S.C.S.-X*, Art. 6 (*Q.B.I.S.M.*-XXXV-3 & 4).
68. Available with the courtesy of *B.I.S.M.*
69. Barbosa's *Description of the Coast of East Africa and Malabar*. Translated by Hon. Henry E.I. Stanley, London, 1866, p. 69.
70. *Q.B.I.S.M.*-XXXV-1 & 2, Art. 4.
71. *Ibid.*, Art. 33.
72. *S.C.S.-Art. 6. XXXIV-3 & 4.*
73. *Ibid.*
74. *S.C.S.-IX*, Art. 11 (*Q B.I.S.M.*-XXIV-4).
75. *H.R.M.P. I.-III*, 201.
76. *I.H.C.*, Fifth Sesson, Hyderabad, 604-5.
77. *S.C.S.-X*, Art. 6 (*Q.B.I.S.M.*-XXXV-3 & 4.)
78. *Documentos Remetidos da India*, No. II15, dated Feb. 26, 1619 A.D.

79. *A.S.L.*-III, 58-74.
80. *S.B.*, 11 (Introduction).
81. Information furnished by Prof. K.L. Mahaley, History Department, Vidarbha Mahavidyalaya, Amravati. The names of some other Hindu religious centres are mentioned under Section V of chapter 9.
82. *Q.B.I.S.M.*-XXXV-1 & 2, Introduction.
83. *M.A.D.S.* (Q.B.I.S.M.-XI-1).

Appendix I

The Extent of the Nizams'ahī Kingdom in the beginning of the 17th Century

From the account of Firishtāh, cited in the Historical Geography of Malik Ambar's Territory, Paithaṇ seems to have been within the Moghul empire.¹ Parenda was in the hands of the Nizāms'āh; and the fort of Ausā and a few villages in its proximity were assigned to him for his personal maintenance. Documentary references to places within the Nizāms'ahī kingdom between 1600 A.D. and 1607 A.D. may be culled out as below:

(a). Shirwal seems to have belonged to the Ādils'āh in 1604 A.D.,² but it passed into the hands of the Nizāms'āh before 1610 A.D.,³ probably before 1606 A.D., if we can draw an inference to that effect from the reference to the friendly relations between Mālojī and Vithojī Bhonsles and Vangoji Nimbālkar.⁴

(b). Poonā belonged to the Ādils'āh between 1600 and 1603 A.D.⁵ However, in 1604 A.D., it was in the Nizāms'ahī state,⁶ when Malik Ambar held it as his Mokāsā.

(c). About Indāpur, there are few extant documents. The Shedgāonkar Bakhar mentions that the Des'mukhship of Indāpur and surrounding 84 villages was granted to Mālojī before the marriage of S'āhji with Jjābāi. Whether Des'mukhship of Indāpur and surrounding villages was granted to Mālojī, as stated by the Shedgāonkar Bakhar, we cannot say with any degree of certainty. From the later history of Mālojī and early history of S'āhji, we are inclined to believe that Indāpur and surrounding area must have been assigned as Jāgir to Mālojī Bhonsle and the surrounding area must have belonged to the Nizāms'āh before 1607 A.D. About Supā also the same may be said. This border area, extending from the west of Poonā to the junction

of the Nirā river with the Bhīmā river changed hands between the Adils'āh and the Nizāms'āh very often.

Otur, in Parganā Junnar, seems to have been taken by Malik Ambar from Miyā Rājū in May, 1604 A.D.⁷ It appears to have been in the Nizāms'āhī kingdom from the very beginning. Poonā was within the Nizāms'āhī kingdom in July or August, 1604 A.D.⁸ Nās'ik (Gulshanābād) was of course a part of the Nizāms'āhī state.⁹ So also Pāndepedgāon lay within its limits.¹⁰ Māmle Jafarābad and Māmle Ahmadābād (Gaudgāon) were parts of the Nizāms'āhī state.¹¹ So, also, Sammat Daulatābād and Parganā Kannarad fell within the territorial limits of the Nizāms'āhī kingdom;¹² Elūr, Derhādī, Kannarad, Jātegau, Lāsūr, Adharsūl, Pōrle Pimpalwādī and Gaudgāon (*alias* Ahmadābād) are mentioned as a part and parcel of the Nizāms'āhī dominion.¹³ The latter places were in close proximity of Daulatābād. Sangamner¹⁴ and Chaul¹⁵ were also within the Nizāms'āhī territory. The construction of a tank at Singnāpur by Mālojī testifies to its belonging to the Nizāms'āhī state.¹⁶

References and notes:

1. *F.A.* (Q.B.I.S.M.-II-2, S.C.V.S.-III, 5).
 2. *S.C.S.-I*, Art. 760.
 3. *Ibid.*, Articles 4, 9 & 11.
 4. 91-Q.B., 12. Here the name mentioned is 'Jagpāl Nimbālkar', but in the Forrest version it is 'Wannugpal Nimbālkar.' And also *M.I.S.-XX* Art. 30.
 5. *S.C.S.-VII*, Articles 3 & 17; *M.I.S.-XVIII*, Art. 2.
 6. *S.L.-II*, Art. 4.
 7. *Ibid.*
 8. *M.I.S.-XX*, Art. 225.
 9. *S.C.S.-II*, Art. 287, dated the 7th July, 1605 A.D.
 10. *S.L.-III*, Art. 5, dated the 13th Oct., 1605 A.D.
 11. *M.I.S.-XX*, Art. 386.
 12. *M.I.S.-XV*, Art. 370, dated 28-7-1606.
 13. *Ibid.*, Art. 371, dated 10-8-1606.
 14. *M.I.S.-XX*, Art. 254, dated 4-1-1607.
 15. *Q.B.I.S.M.-II*, 131 dated the 31st Jan., 1607.
 16. *Shedgaonkar Bakhār*, 8 & 9.
- N.B. By 1619 A.D. Kalyān and Bhivandī lay within the territorial limits of the Nizāms'āhī state. (*Documento Remetidos da India*, No. 1115 dated the 20th Feb., 1619 A.D.).

Appendix II

The Nizāms'āhī Line of Rulers Reconstructed

Misconception about the succession of Nizāms'āhī monarchs after 1600 A.D., have persisted till now. V.K. Rājwāde, Dr. Bāl Krishṇa, Professor J.N. Sarkār and others have failed to correct the genealogy of the Nizāms'āhī rulers. The history of the Nizāms'āhī dynasty, has not yet been thoroughly investigated. The Nizāms'āhī kingdom in the 17th century attracted little attention of chroniclers in its decadent state during this period. An attempt is here made to reconstruct the whole line by examining some available evidence hitherto neglected.

As regards the succession of Nizāms'āhī monarchs before 1600 A.D., all main and important facts of history have been recorded systematically by chroniclers of those days. In 1595 A.D., the Nizāms'āhī dominion, was torn by civil war after the death of *Burhān Nizāms'āh II* on the 26th April 1595 (18th *Shābān*, 1003 A.H.).¹ The Moghul army seized this opportunity to invade the declining kingdom. The disturbed conditions in the kingdom continued till the fall of Ahmadnagar which occurred on the 18/19th August, 1600 A.D.²

The first Nizāms'āhī monarch, named *Ahmad Nizāms'āh* reigned till 1508 A.D. The reign of his successor, *Burhān Nizāms'āh I*, came to a close in 1533 A.D., on his death. *Burhān Nizāms'āh I* had six sons: *Muhammad Khudāwand*, *S'āh Alī*, *Muhammad Bākūr*, *Abdul Kādar* (Kādirī), *S'āh Haidar* and *Hussain*. The last-named ascended to the throne after his father's death and his brothers fled from his kingdom to escape imprisonment or execution at his hands.³ The eldest of them, *Muhammad Khudāwad*, sought shelter in the Moghul empire under Akbar's protection at Āgrā. *S'āh Alī* whose son, *Murtaza Alī* came to the throne immediately after the fall of Ahmadnagar

was the third son of the late king.⁴ He was a prisoner in the fort of Bijāpur before he accompanied Abhangkhān to Ahmadnagar.⁵ After the death of *Hussain I*, in 1565 A.D., the succession fell to the *Murtazā Nizāms'āh Diwānā*. The latter's immediate successor was his son *Mirān Hussain II* who was deposed on the 21st March, 1589 A.D. (Wednesday, *Jamādiāwal*, 12, 997 A.H.)⁶ in favour of his cousin, *Ismail Nizāms'āh*. *Ismail Nizāms'āh* was dethroned by his father on the 28th April 1591. (After 13 Rajab, A.H.)⁷ who became known in history as *Burhān Nizāms'āh II* and continued on his throne till he was removed by death on the 29th July, 1595, (18th *Sābān*, 1003 A.H.)⁸ He was succeeded by his son, *Ibrāhīm*. His reign was shortlived. After his death in middle of August 1595 A.D. (16 *Amārdād* 1003 A.H.) 1595 A.D., there ensued a civil war among rival aspirants to royalty.⁹

The brave *Chāndbibi*, sister of *Bāhādur Nizāms'āh II*, declared his minor grandson, *Bāhādur* a lad of 5 or 6 years, as King in the fort of Junnar¹⁰ or Chāndwad¹¹ soon after September, 1595 (after the battle of Idgāh near Ahmadnagar)¹² and kept up a gallant resistance against the invasions of the Moghuls as well as *Nizāms'āhī* factions. In addition to the government stationed there were at this time three parties of *Nizāms'āhī* dominion:

- (1) That of *Miyā Rājū* who, with his protege, *Almad*.
- (2) That of *Abhangkhān Habas'i* who had gone in the Bijāpur territory and induced *S'āh Alī*, a son of *Burhān I*, to come out of retirement to become king of Ahmadnagar. At this time his age was 70 years.¹³

(3) The party, whose leader was *Ikhlasakhān*, had declared a boy named *Motī* as king. It is not necessary to give here a detailed account of the civil war. It may be said that the warring factions, after a brief struggle amongst themselves, threw their combined power against the Moghul army. The war against the Moghuls continued with varying success till at length the fort of Ahmadnagar was captured on the 18/19th August 1600 A.D.¹⁴

The sequence of succession in the *Nizāms'āhī* dynasty after 1600 A.D., has been an unsolved mystery. The name and date

of each successor have not been noticed closely by present-day historians. As a result, 'truth has been sacrificed to myths and fables; chronology has been distorted and history has been mutilated, at times, to suit the views of the historian concerned.

After the capture of *Bahādur* (Nizāms'āh), *S'āh Alī's* son, *Murtazā Alī* was raised to the throne, probably, in September, 1600 A.D., by Malik Ambar at Parendā.¹⁵

There might seem to be some confusion as to who was raised up as a king by Malik Ambar and Miyā Rājū, after the fall of Ahmadnagar into the hands of the Moghuls.

With reference to *S'āh Alī*, after the peace in April, 1596, made by *Chandbībī* with the Moghuls, Syed Ali, the author of the *Burhān-i-Māasir*, says : "As *Mirān S'āh Alī* was in the hands of the Africans and all the Africans had wished to raise him to the throne, now, that the African *Āmirs* paid their respect to *Chandbībī*, he became alarmed and fled for safety to the *Ādil S'āhī* army, where he remained under the protection of *Suhailkhān*. A body, which had been sent from the army of *Daeen* in pursuit of *Mirān S'āh Alī* failed to come up with him but plundered his tents and camp equipage and all his property, and then returned".¹⁶ So, it is clear that on the eve of the fall of Ahmadnagar, he was in or near about the Nizāms'āhī territory.

The *Burhan-i-Maāsir* does not give the history of the Nizāms'āhī state after 1596 A.D. This is supplied to us by *Firishtāh* and *Abul Fazl*, two contemporary persons. *Firishtāh*, after mentioning the fall of Ahmadnagar, says "Notwithstanding which, the Nizāms'āhī officers, having declared *Moortaza*, son of *S'āh Alī*, for some time made Parendā the capital".¹⁷ So it is clear that *S'āh Alī's* son, named *Murtazā Alī*, and, some time, briefly called '*Alī*' and not *S'āh Alī* was raised to the throne, after *Bahādur Nizāms'āh* had fallen prisoner, consequent to the fall of Ahmadnagar into the hands of the Moghuls. *Abul Fazl* (*Akbarnāmā*, pp. 1174-5)", says that many men had joined the son of *S'āh Alī*, and that it was right that he himself should return and go in that direction, and "in conjunction with the *Khānkhānān* to bring the affair to a successful termination". Subsequently, it is mentioned by him : "They elevated

to the supremacy *Alī*, the son of *S'āh Alī*, the uncle of *Murtazā Nizāmūlmulk*".¹⁸ This translation requires to be made clear in meaning by stating that *S'āh Alī* was the uncle of the *Murtazā Nizāms'āh*, the 4th king in the line, who was popularly known as "*Murtazā Nizāms'āh Diwānā*", and that *Alī* (or, fully, *Murtazā Alī*) was *S'āh Alī's* son who was in 1597 A.D., according to the *Burhān-i-Maāsir*, 20 years of age.¹⁹

The confusion arose probably on account of a faulty statement in the *Futūbāt-i-Ādil-Shāhī*, and its faulty translation (given in the Indian Historical Quarterly, Sept. 1933, No. 3). "The son's son of old *Burhān Nizāms'āh*, named *S'āh Alī*, who was confined in the fort of Bijāpur, one day disappeared".²⁰ Here the grammatical relation of the first son and the second son and of 'who' are intensely confusing. Moreover, this statement is wrong. *S'āh Alī* had disappeared in 1595 A.D., when he accompanied Abhanghkhān to Ahmadnagar, *Murtazā Alī*, *S'āh Alī's* son, came with him. Even in the Marāthī translation,²⁰ the defects are to be noted. *S'āh Alī*, probably, died in the Bijāpur territory some time before August 1600 A.D. So, he could not have been king after the fall of Ahmadnagar in August 1600 into the hands of the Moghuls.

This *Murtazā Nizāms'āh II* passed away before the 27th Sept. 1610. This can be gleaned from the following citation.

"The Royal Bastion was built during the reign of (the King), the shadow of God, *Burhān Nizāms'āh*, by the order of the benefactor of mankind, Malik Ambar on the 19th of Rajab, 1019 A.H. (Sept. 27, 1610)".²¹

This is further confirmed by Jahāngīr's memoirs as follows :

"Ambar, this black-faced, had raised to the sovereignty a child who, in his opinion, bore relationship to the family of Nizam-ul-mulk. In order that men might fully accept his (child's) sovereignty, he raised him up, and took him by the hand and made himself the *Pes'wā* and leader."²² This statement is given just in connection with the account of 7th year of accession from the 19th March, 1612 A.D. It occurs just after the reference to the 6th April 1612 (19th Farwadīn), that is, 18th day after the date of 7th year of the accession. Evidently, before 1612 A.D., a minor *Nizāms'āh* was raised to the throne.

The 91-*Qalanī Bakhar* lends support to the above fact in the following statement:

“When *S’āhjī Rāje* reached his twentieth year, *Jijāwā* bestowed on him a son, who was called *Sambhājī Rājā*, that same year *Nizāms’āh Bahri* died. He left two sons, seven years old, born of different mothers who were both alive”.²³

According to the *Chitnis Bakhar*, *S’āhjī* was born in *S’ake* 1516, that is, in 1594 A.D.²⁴ From the above extract, it can be inferred that *Sambhājī*, the eldest son of *S’āhjī* was born in 1614 A.D. The year of the birth of *Sambhājī* has been said to have synchronised with that of the death of *Murtazā Nizāms’āh II*. This statement has to be taken approximately correct. The discrepancy of four years in recording the event after the lapse of about 70 years is quite probable.

From a contemporary letter of 1614 A.D., it can be shown that the regime of a new *Nizāms’āh* set in prior to that year. In the letter, the words “हजरती बुरहान निजामशाह (Regime of *Burhān Nizāms’āh*)” denote that *Burhān Nizāms’āh* was on the throne in that year. The words “*Mā-Sāheb*” (queen-mother) and “*Māhāl*” (Harem) occurring in the same letter point to the conclusion that the *Nizāms’āh* was a minor.²⁵ That there was a change in the *Nizāms’āhī* king, some time before 1613 A.D., can be seen also from the various references that obtain in some of the *Marāthī* documents published in the S.S. C.-I document No. 7 (p.8) obtained this sentence :-” प्रगणेमजकूरचे देसकुसकर्णी विठलकाइदेव याचे मिरासी होवे पिगीदरपिडी चासविसे आहे० हजरत निजामशाहाचे राजभागायेत माये मिरासी होये यंसे समस्त लोकानी गोही दिले”

“(All the people gave evidence to the effect that the *Des-kulkarnīship* of the said *Parganā* was a permanent right of *Vithal Kāideo*; it has been so for generations. The permanent right continued during the reign of His Majesty the *Nizāms’āh*”. The reference to the *Nizāms’āh* occurs in the past tense; had it been used to indicate present tense, some such words as आज पावेतो” (till this day) instead of “हजरत निजामशाहाचे राजतागायत” (during the reign of His Majesty the *Nizāms’āh*) should, have been used. The reference is clearly to a *Nizāms’āh* who preceded on throne in October 1613 A.D., when the above statement²⁶ was made. What the name of that (late) *Nizāms’āh* was we shall presently

note. In document 13, page 20, Vithal Kaideo has been mentioned to have clearly stated. "यामघे रुद्राण दत्तो व दादाजी भूपालराव व रंगोजी भूपालराव लम्बे दरम्याने कारकीर्दी खाने अजम वडे हेवतखान यांचे फजद हेवतखान त्यांचे कारकीर्दीस अनंतर त्या सगळी पावुन पैदा होऊन आपणास दसुर करितात"

"(In the meanwhile Rudrāji Datto and Dādāji Bhūpālrao and Rangōji Bhūpālrao began to cause (me) troubles by appearing from the year 1613 A. D. During the regime of the son of the Senior Haibatkhān). Vithal Kaideo came to be disturbed by the Lāmbes undoubtedly that year, that is, 1613 A. D., and just before that year, he enjoyed the said *Kulkarnīship* without any trouble. Therefore, it is quite clear that the Nizāms'āhī ruler changed before the year 1612 A.D. Further on the same page, Vithal Kaideo's statement contains this sentence—"

जा मजकुरीये देसकुलकर्ण गदहम सालात्वपाद विदीदरपीठी आपण वडील वडीलठापासून मिरासी आपणी जोवरी वा सोहवाची प्रातस्याही नोवरी आपण खातोलीहे खाटक जाहीर."

"(The whole world has come to know that the right to the *Kulkarnīship* of the said *Parganā* has belonged from generations together of the old times)", Here also, the same meaning is implied. What word 'वा', indicates is not clear, but it clearly refers to a past Nizāms'āhī. This document is of January, 1621. Exactly the same statement^{27a} is repeated a little further in this document (see pp. 21 and 22). These two contain sentence: "जोहरी हजरती सोहवाची तोवरी कुलकर्ण चालविले आहे."

"(I have carried on the work of the *Kulkarnī* so long as His Majesty ruled)." This very clearly refers to a preceding king. The last reference is, again, mentions that the trouble began from the time of the Junior Haibatkhān, *i.e.*, from the year 1613 A.D. This very statement is, again, clearly repeated at pp. 28 and 29.^{27b}

Now, in order to know who that Nizāms'āhī was and what the name of the new Nizāms'āhī was we have to refer to No. 55, (dated 22 March 1671) of S.S.C. VII. The firman mentions that Kaji Ismail enjoyed the privileges mentioned in the firman from the time of "भोतजाली विजाम व बूहाण निजाम व समलठकल मलिक अनर नेयकजी."

"(*Murtazā Ali Nizām* and *Burhān Nizām* and His Excellency Malik Ambar regent)" This clearly indicates that *Murtazā Ali*

Nizām preceded *Burhān Nizām* whose regent has been mentioned to be Malik Ambar.

The account of this *Murtazā Alī* has been already discussed above on the basis of the *Akabarnāmā* and *Firishtāh* and it has been shown that he was the son of *S'āhī Ali* who died either in 1600 A.D. or in 1601 A.D. He was a grown-up man, when he came to the throne, proof for which has been already cited. But he died after a reign of 10 years. So, his sons could have been minors, one of whom was raised to the throne by Malik Ambar and whose regent (besides being the Chief Minister and autocratic administrator) he was. The name of this new *Nizāms'āh* (who was raised to the throne after *Murtazā Nizāms'āhī*) was *Burhāns'āh* which has been established on the basis of other documents.

The fact is further corroborated by foreign travellers of those days. A Dutch traveller named Van Ravesteyn in the entry of 5th June 1615 in the account of his travels, observes "..... King Baijro (Burhān) Nisamza (*Nizāms'āh*) was with the army. He was little more than a child of 9 years; everything was governed by Melick Ambar"²⁸ The Italian traveller, Pietro Della Vella, wrote in 1623 that the ruling *Nizāms'āh* was a child of twelve years in age.²⁹ All these are unimpeachable evidences of the minority of the reigning *Nizāms'āh*.

It is manifest from the foregoing discussion that the year 1610 A.D., was the beginning of Malik Ambar's regency. The protege of Malik Ambar was *Burhān Nizāms'āh III*. *Burhān Nizāms'āh III* was alive during the famous and decisive battle of *Bhāt-wādī*. He set *Randulāh Khān* and *Farhūd Khān* free from their incarceration and entertained them into his service.³⁰ It has been said as other sources have mentioned that Malik Ambar raised to the throne *Murtazā*, son of *S'āhī Alī*, a prince as a *Nizāms'āhī* King, and took into his own hands all the powers like an autocrat. It is clear that *Murtazā Nizāms'āhī*, son of *S'āhī Alī*, was followed sometime between Malik's assumption of power in 1600 A.D. or 1601 A.D., and 1614 A.D., by *Burhān Nizāms'āh*. After Malik Ambar died in May 1626, he was succeeded by his son, *Fatehkhān* as the Premier. However, he displayed no exceptional abilities possessed by his father. Smarting under the shackles of his regency, *Burhān Nizāms'āh III*

was seized with an earnest desire to assert his right to rule his dominion on attaining majority. Fatehkhān fell into disfavour with his royal master, as he was unwilling to relax his authority in any way. Evidently, there could be no love between *Burhān Nizāms'āh III* and Fatehkhān. With the help of Hamīd Khān, Fatehkhān was thrown into prison in 1630 A.D. Fatehkhān was released from his imprisonment on the 18th January 1631 and restored to his former dignity.³¹ Fatehkhān avenged the insult done to him by murdering the king in February 1632 A.D. Fatehkhān raised to the throne *Hussain S'āh III*, at the age of 7 years. *Hussain S'āh* was the son of the late king.³² S'ahji had crowned *Murtazā Nizāms'āh III* at Pengirī in 1633 A.D. in order to revive the Nizāms'āhī kingdom. However, in 1636 A.D. the boy-king was taken prisoner by the Moghuls.³³

V.K. Rājwāde has taken it for granted that *Murtazā Nizāms'āh II* and *Burhān Nizāms'āh III* were one and the same person. He maintains that the letter of 1614 A.D. referred to in this discussion is incorrectly published³⁴ but there appears nothing unauthentic in it. Foreign travellers had noticed that the reigning *Nizāms'āh* in and after 1614 A.D. was a child. It has already been established that *Murtazā Nizāms'āh II* was sufficiently grown-up to look after the affairs of his government. It is apparent that *Murtazā Nizāms'āh II*, was a different person from *Burhān Nizāms'āh III*. Rājwāde's view can hardly be tenable in the light of the high, impartial and contemporary testimony of the foreign travellers. Sir J.N. Sarkār has also not correctly indentified *Murtazā Nizāms'āh II*, when he says that one of the Nizāms'āhī nobles "set up *Burhān Nizāms'āh* (called *Murtazā II* by *Firishtāh*, II, 165) a son of *S'āh Ali* as king..."³⁵ Perhaps, by finding the name of *Burhān Nizāms'āh III* mentioned in connection with the battle of Bhatwādī he has been misled to think that he could be no other person than *Murtazā Nizāms'āh II* mentioned by *Firishtāh*.

Wāsudeo S'āstri Khare is perfectly right in pointing out the mistake committed by Grant Duff in the following statement:—

"*Sultān Murtazā Nizāms'āh II* on attaining man's estate was naturally desirous of circumscribing the power of the regent, and violent and inconsistent conduct of Fatehkhān rendered this object a matter of easy accomplishment"³⁶ It is, now,

clear that Grant Duff's view is misleading. According to Wāsudeo Sāstri Khare *Murtazā Nizāms'āh* must have been a middle-aged man of not less than 24 years of age in 1629 A.D.³⁷ He further points out that in the Ahmadnagar Gazetteer³⁸ and in Kincaid's 'History of the Maratha people'³⁹ the error committed by Grand Duff has been repeated.⁴⁰ However, Wāsudeo S'āstri Khare has failed to explain the cause of this misleading error and to notice and point out the fact that there had been a Nizāms'āh in between the reigns of *Murtazā Nizāms'āh II* and *Hussain S'āh III*. The statement of Grant Duff can be corrected by substituting "*Burhān Nizāms'āh III*" for "*Sultān Murtazā Nizāms'āh II*".

The editor of the *Epigraphica Indo Moslemica* draws the attention of his readers to his conclusion based on the inscription on a pillar of the Kamānī Masjid of the Shivaneri Hill (No. 3440, Plate XIII (a)) that the name of the contemporary Burhān Nizāms'āh is not mentioned in any work on history except the *Busātīnussalātīn*. He was a son of *Murtazā*, who was raised to the throne in 1009 A.H. (1600 A.D.), after the capture of Ahmadnagar by the Moghuls. The date of the death of *Murtazā* or the accession of *Burhān Nizāms'āh III* is not mentioned but *B.S.* cites the name of *Murtazā Nizāms'āh* upto the year 1020 A.H. (1611 A.D.). Evidently, Col. T.W. Haig,⁴¹ whose lists of the Musalman dynasties of the Deccan are by far the most reliable and complete, has omitted the name of this *Burhān Nizāms'āh III* and apparently confused his reign with that of *Murtazā Nizāms'āh II*.

The conclusions of the discussion may be summarised in the following table :

I. Ahmad Nizāms'āh I (D. 1518 A.D.)

II. Burhān Nizāms'āh I (D. 1553, 30th December.)

1 Muhammad Khudāwand 2 S'āh Ali 3 Mohmmad 4 Abdul Kādar 5 S'āh Haider 6 III, Hussain I (D. 1565)

IX Ahmad S.O. Tāhir Imposter died in captivity after deposition on 6th Aug. 1595 A.D.

XI Murtazā Ali Nizāms'āh II (1600-1610 A.D.)

IV. Murtazā Nizāms'āh II (D. 7th July 1588)

V. Miran Hussain II (21 March, 1589 killed).

Chānd Bibi VII. Burhān Nizāms'āh II (D. April 20, 1595 A.D.)

XII. Burhān Nizāms'āh III. (Beginning of 1610 A.D. March, 1631 A.D.) Name not recorded.

XIII. Hussain Nizāms'āh III (September, 1631 to 1633 A.D., made prisoner).

VIII. Ibrāhīm Nizāms'āh (D. 1595 Middle of August).

X. Bāhādūr (about October, 1595 A.D. proclaimed king)

VI Ismail Nizāms'āh (28th April, 1591, A.D., deposed).

XIV. The last Nizāms'āh was *Murtazā Nizāms'āh III* who was crowned king in September 1633 at Pangiri by S'āhji to revive the Nizāms'āhi kingdom. The Shadowy ruler was made over to the Moghuls in 1636 A.D. At the time of his entertainment he was 13 years of age.

References and Notes:

- 1 B.F.-III, 287.
- 2 A.N.-III, 1158.
- 3 *Ibid.*, 1028. In B.F.—III, 238, 284 & 296, the name of *Muhammad Khudawand* does not occur. Similarly, this name does not occur in Haig's translation of the *Burhān-i-Maāstr.* 28, (I.A., 1921).
- 4 B.F.-III, 294.
- 5 *Ibid.* -299 and B.M. (I.A., 1923, 336).
- 6 B.F. III, 271.
- 7 B.M., 290 (I.A., 1923).
- 8 B.F.-III, 287. (Briggs fixes the date of Burhān Nizāms'āh II's death as the 15th May, 1595 A.D.).
- 9 *Ibid.*, 293-312; B.M. (I.A. 1923) 295-300 and 331-348.
- 10 B.S., 358.
- 11 B.F.-III, 293, 298 and 300.
- 12 *Ibid.*, 297; B.S., 358; F.A. makes a bald statement that *Bāhādur* was the middle grandson of *Burhān Nizāms'āh*. (S.C.V.S.-III, Q.B.I.S.M. XX-203; S.C.S. II, 184 mentions *Bāhādur Nizāms'āh* as king in 1595 A.D. and also S.C.S.-II, Art. 185; Q.B.I.S.M.-IX-2; S.C.S.-IV, p. 2.)
- 13 B.F.-III, 299.
- 14 A.N.-III, 1158.
- 15 B.F.-III, 313; A.N.-III, 1174-75 and 1177.
- 16 B.M., 346 (I.A., 1923). We are inclined to surmise that they attempted to put *Mirān Nizāms'āh* into prison, since he, being free, should cause troubles. *Mirān Nizāms'āh* Ali, having got some scent of this, ran away under the protection of the *Ādilsāhī* army, so as to escape imprisonment.
- 17 B.F.-III, 312.
- 18 A.N., 1174-5.
- 19 B.M., 331 (I.A., 1923).
- 20 Q.B.I.S.M.-XX 2. S.C.V.S. III, 5..
- 21 E.I.M., Plate No. VIII (c). Inscription carved on a bastion in the north-western wall of the fort of Antur.
- 22 T.J.-I, 220, cf. Van Ravesteyn pointed out that Malik Ambar was the grand father of the young king Binjro Nisaxa (*Burhān Nizāms'āh*). "A daughter of Melicke Ambar", he says, "was married to the old king, i.e., the father of Biro Nisamxa; and thus although the young king was not a son of Melick Ambar's daughter, he was a step child of her and hence the relation." (M.A.D.R., Q.B.I.S.M.-XI, 7-8) Cf. "King Nizamoxa is still a youngster who is not yet 13 years old..... ." (Documento Remetidos da India, No. 1115, dated the 20th Feb., 1619 A.D.).
- 23 T.J. I, 206 and 217.
- 24 The Forest Edition (edited by V.S. Wakaskar), 22.
- 25 C.B., 13-14; M.R.S.M., 32.

- 25 Proceedings of the VI Annual Conference of B.I.S.M., *Sāka*, 1840, 87-88.
- 26 This statement is repeated twice in Doc. No. 21 (pp. 34 and 36).
- 27a S.C.S.-I Doc. No. 21 (dated 4th June, 1623 A.D.).
- 27b *Ibid*
- 28 *M.A.D.R. (Q.B.I.S.M.-XI, 19)*.
- 29 S.N. D.V. Gokhale : Italian Traveller of Shivaji Period, 33.
- 30 *B.S.*, 414.
- 31 *J.C. (S.S., 5)*
- 32 *B.S.*, 445.
- 33 *J.C. (S.S., 5)*.
- 34 *R.M.V.C.*, 55.
- 35 *H.S.*, 34.
- 36 *H.M. I*, 43.
- 37 *Q.B.I.S.M.-I-1*, 13.
- 38 396. (Ahmadnagar District Gazetteer).
- 39 *H.M.P.-I*, 111-112.
- 40 *Q.B.I.S.M.-I-1*, 13.
- 41 *H.L.D.*, 236.

Appendix III

Malik Ambar and the Dutch

The Dutch began to open up their commercial relations and dealings with India in the second decade of the Seventeenth Century A.D., which were not welcomed by both the Portuguese and the English. Pieter van den Broecke succeeded in establishing a factory at Surat in 1616 A.D.¹ The Dutch and the English were engaged in mutual rivalry to exclude each other for securing trading concessions in India. However, the efforts of Pieter Gillesz van Ravestyn, successor of Pieter van den Broecke at Surat, were crowned with success in procuring several important privileges for his countrymen, though not all for which they applied.² At the beginning, the English extended their co-operation and support to the Dutch, but, no sooner had the Dutch obtained a trading foothold in India, they drifted away from mutual co-operation and support. In the autumn of 1620 A.D., Pieter van den Broecke appeared once more at Surat and proceeded to set on foot other factories at Ahmadabad, Broach and Cambay.³

Evidently, the Dutch had no factories within the territorial limits of the Nizāms'āhī kingdom.

The first contact of the Dutch with the Nizāms'āhī Premier, Malik Ambar, occurred in 1613 A.D., when Pieter Gilles Van Ravestyn interviewed Malik Ambar in his military camp, near 'Saketā' (?), while the Dutch traveller was bound for Surat to take the delivery of the property of his deceased countryman, named Van Deynsen, who died at the port in 1608 A.D. Two days after his interview with Malik Ambar, he took leave of "Mir Abdul Fatij (Mir Abdul Fateh?) when the latter had offered the port of Ragiapour (Rajāpur) to the (Dutch) company for their trade. It was situated between the Portuguese

settlements of Chaul and Basscin and it would have enabled the Dutch to batter the enemy both from sea as well as from land. It does not seem, however, that the Company accepted the offer."⁴

The second contact of the Dutch with Malik Ambar was equally amicable and cordial. In the treaty of tripartite alliance among the Portuguese, the Nizāms'āh, and the Ādils'āh, signed on the 1st Jan., 1617 A.D., it was stipulated to exclude the English and the Dutch from the Nizāms'āhī dominions.⁵ Despite this stipulation, Malik Ambar kept friendly relations with the Dutch and the English. In 1617 A.D., Pieter Van den Broecke, the Dutch traveller, obtained a permit from Malik Ambar for his safe passage through the Nizāms'āhī territory. On his audience with Malik Ambar he offered him a present of a Japanese sword and costly Javan crease. The Dutch traveller records :

"He (Malik Ambar) was highly pleased with the sword but not with the crease, because the Devil was engraved on it; he gave it back to me with a *firman* for the wounded men (who had been attacked by the Marāthās) we had left behind. *He was gracious towards men and put on me two Shawals, one of gold, the other of Camel's hair, which is the greatest honour that can be paid to any one.* Further he offered to give me a guard of soldiers to escort me to Golkunda."⁶

On the third occasion also the Dutch were very fortunate. The robbery of the English goods, passing from Āgrā to Surat, occurred in March, 1621 A.D., about a day's journey from Mandū in the Moghul territory into which Malik Ambar had carried out a most daring and bold feat of incursion, after driving out the imperial forces from the Nizāms'āhī territory. The Dutch had a narrow escape from the pillage by the Nizāms'āhī troops, as the Dutch caravan, which had accompanied that of the English, was detained at the latter place, due to the desertion of camel drivers.⁷

In order to effect the recovery of the loss of goods, the English had been contemplating various ways and means, including their league with other European powers in India.⁸ The Dutch made a collusion with the English in the latter's efforts

to practise reprisals on the juneks of Malik Ambar. Though the English efforts proved futile at the outset, the Dutch captured one of Malik Ambar's frigates. As the Dutch had forestalled the English, Captain Weddell expressed his indignation at the action of the Dutch by calling it 'Heathenish' proceedings on the part of the Hollanders.⁹

No further details about the dealings of the Dutch with Malik Ambar can be revealed for the lack of relevant materials, available to the author. Nevertheless, the English made occasional alliances with the Dutch,¹⁰ though the latter did not give their continuous assistance to the former, as the Hollanders had leanings towards Malik Ambar at heart. The English were also apprehensive of the Dutch interference which spelled to jeopardise rather than to improve their prospects of receiving restitution of their losses from Malik Ambar.

Reference and Notes

1. *E.F.I.* (1618 21), 15
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*
4. *R.D. Wadekar. Malik Ambar from Dutch Sources. (Q.B.I.S.M. -XI-1, 7-10.)*
5. *Q.B.I.S.M.-XII-2-3-4*, Prof P.S. Pissurleneer's original copy of the treaty in Portuguese has been translated in Marathi by D.V. Apte.
6. *Journal of Indian History*, XVII (1938), 143-46.
7. *Hague Transcripts*, 1st Series, IV, No. 139.
8. Consultation held aboard the 'Hart' in Swally Hole, by ex-President Kerridge, Messrs. Rastell James and Hopkinson of the Surat Council and Captain Richard Blyth, commander of the fleet, with the rest of the Council. (*F.R. Surat-I*, 29).
9. *Ibid.*
10. President Fursland and Council at Batavia to the Bombay Council, January 11, 1622. (*O.C.*, 1028).

Appendix IV

Currency

The following coins were current during Malik Ambar's regime in the Nizāms'āhi dominion :

I. Takā. (S.C.S.-X, 8,9,10,11 and 14; S.C.S.-IX, 11).

II. Rukā. (S.C.S.-X, 2,8,9, and 10-15.)

One Takā was equivalent to forty-eight Rukās. Six Takās made a Sasganī or Sānī. (S.C.S.-II, 128; S.C.S.-VII, 113 and S.C.S.-IX, 4). Takās, Rukās and Sasganīs were also land-measure which have been alluded to in Section IV, Chapter 10. Both Takās and Rukās seem to be of small and large denominations, as can be gleaned from the use of the epithet 'Buzruk/Buzrukhi' with them to distinguish them from the ordinary Takā and Rukā. (S.C.S.-X, 8 and 9 and 12 and S.C.S.-IX, 22 and 28). Takā of small denomination is referred to as 'Nafar Takā' (S.C.S.-IX, 21) and also as 'Ghatī Takā', possibly. (S.C.S.-X, 15). Perhaps, the Nafar Takā was $\frac{1}{2}$ of the large-sized Buzruk Takā of circular shape (S.C.S.-IX, 21). Nafar (meaning 'light') and Ghatī, possibly, were interchangeable terms.

III. Sanyās. Most probably, copper coins both of large and small denominations. (S.C.S.-IX, 5.)

IV. Lārī (also spelt as Lāhārī in Marāthī) (S.C.S.-IX, 14, 20, 22, & 32 & 41; S.C.S.-X, 12 & 28).

There were a variety of Lārīs as follows :

1. Akhatānā. (S.C.S.-IX, 14 & 20).

2. Kāruka. (S.C.S.-IX, 14 & 20).

3. Basak/Basarī. S.C.S.-IX, 5 and S.C.S.-X, 8).

4. Basarī Lārīs may be surmised to be equivalent to 5 Lārīs. (S.C.S.-X, 8).

4. *Raī*. (S.C.S.-IX, 42).
5. *Kandarī*. (*Ibid*).
6. *Payatā*. (S.C.S.-X, 11).
7. *Pāg*. (S.C.S.-X, 12 & 13).
8. *Buzruk*. (S.C.S.-X, 9 & 10).

Buzruk Lārī denotes that there was *Lārī* of smaller denomination also. *Lārī Khurd* (small) is specifically mentioned. (S.C.S.-I, 9.).

V. *Hons* : (S.C.S.-IX, 15 & 21 and S.C.S.-VII, 110-115).

The references in S.C.S.-VII, 110-113 (both inclusive) are of Malik Ambar's regime and the remaining ones pertain to the Post-Malik Ambar period. There appears to be a reference to Belī, Dīverāī and Tāmīr Hons. (S.C.S.-IX, 84 & 85).

There is a noteworthy reference to *Asūsa Takā* (S.C.S.-X, 13) which is gold coin mentioned in the *Mahānubhāva* literature of Marāthī, according to the information furnished by the Late Prof. K.V. Peshakār, Marāthī Department, Vidarbha Mahā-vidyalaya, Amrāvatt.

A few other categories of currency can be gleaned from historical records of the contemporary Englishmen :

1. Rupees. (*F.R. Surat-I*, 35 and *F.R. Miscellaneous-I*, 91).
2. *Mahmudis*. (*F.R. Surat-I*, 91 and *Factory Records, Surat-CII*, 431).
3. *Rials*. (*F.R. Miscellaneous-I*, 91 and *Factory Records-CII*, 431).

The value of a *Hon* may be computed to be Rs 5-00 approximately. (*S.L.*, Arts. 11 & 17).

From the allusion to *Nakhtāyātipatī* (S.C.S.-II, 148 and S.C.S.-VII, 112). It may be surmised that some license fee was levied for the rights and privileges, conferred by the State for permission to mint coins, on licensees. In those days, the coinage was not the State monopoly.

Some sort of levy was imposed on money-lenders or money exchangers, visiting the market-place at Chaul from mints of Bālāghāt region. (S.C.S.-IX, 8).

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ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|----|---------|
| K | Karyat |
| M | Mamle |
| P | Pargana |
| PR | Prauta |
| S | Sarkar |
| SA | Sammat |
| T | Tape |
| TA | Tarf |